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The Shape of Things

ONE YEAR AFTER HITLER'S SUICIDE IN A Berlin subway his followers enjoy the privileges of a ruling caste in Bavaria, while anti-Nazis "fear to speak freely and some . . . talk only in their homes at night or at some rendezvous away from their offices." This is the burden of Raymond Daniell's remarkable series of detailed and grimly convincing dispatches to the New York *Times*. So tightly have the Nazis retained their grip that Dr. Wilhelm Högner, Minister President of Bavaria, has publicly warned of immediate chaos and civil war should American forces be withdrawn; and others believe the Nazis would be back in power within a matter of weeks without even having to stage a civil war. For this shocking state of affairs the Catholic hierarchy in Bavaria appears from Mr. Daniell's reports to have a major share of responsibility. Its Christian Social Union is loaded with Nazi sympathizers, such as Dr. Rudolph Werner, who at the Union's request was allowed to edit a newspaper until American authorities dug up some violently pro-Nazi editorials he had written in the service of the Führer. Confronted with the evidence, Werner remarked blandly that he had not thought the Americans were "smart enough" to catch him. But the Christian Social Union goes right on defending him and has the gall to threaten an appeal to Catholic sentiment in the United States against such "anti-clerical persecution." Cardinal Faulhaber has been "active in appealing for the appointment of Nazis in important jobs" and candidates of other parties are repeatedly branded from the pulpit as "anti-Christian." Mr. Daniell is to be congratulated on his outstanding service, but it is plain that the root of the evil goes deeper than he has yet probed. German democrats cannot begin to make a fight until our authorities give them not only political backing but a realistic economic policy on which to build a program.

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WHEN HARLAN FISKE STONE WAS NAMED TO the United States Supreme Court by President Coolidge, sterling liberals like Walsh and Norris rose in the Senate to oppose the choice. Stone was a rock-ribbed New England Republican who had come to the Coolidge Cabinet from one of the richest corporation law practices in Wall Street. Both Senators, to their lasting credit, were to admit a mistake in judgment when "Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone dissenting" became a traditional pattern in the darkening days of the Hoover Administration. A strict constructionist of the court's function under the Constitution, Justice Stone, still later, was to rank as a judicial pillar of the New Deal, not because of any personal predilection but out of a profound regard for the powers vested in Congress by the electorate. "Courts," he wrote in his famous dissent upholding the AAA, "are concerned only with the power to enact statutes, not with their wisdom." Appeal from laws that are constitutional, however unwise, must be to the ballot-box, not the courts, which, he added pointedly, "are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have capacity to govern." Beyond this constitutional approach he brought to his office a flexibility of mind and a sensitivity to change that prompted him to tell an audience in 1936: "We are coming to realize that law is not an end but a means to an end . . . that that end is to be attained through reasonable accommodation of law to changing economic and social needs." Should President Truman elevate a member of the present Court to be Chief Justice, it is assumed he will appoint a Republican to fill the resulting vacancy in order to preserve the bi-partisan character of the court. Republicans of Justice Stone's caliber are to be found, no doubt, but they can hardly be numerous. Neither can Democrats for that matter.

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THE ELECTION OF ROXAS AS PRESIDENT OF the Philippines and the anticipated enactment of Congressional measures dealing with Philippine trade and defense tend to remove any distinction between the United States and other colony-holding countries. We will grant the Islands nominal independence on July 4, but only after having bound them hand and foot to the American economy and assisted at the installation of a President who is anti-democratic and subservient to American business interests. In his first interview President-elect Roxas proclaimed that he would do his best to provide inducements for the investment of American capital and to exclude other capital. Perhaps it was in anticipation of such favors that the American business community in the Islands—and also the American army

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—threw their support to Roxas despite his naked record as a collaborator with the Japanese. It should be remembered that Roxas was able to run only because General MacArthur decided to "forget" about his collaborationist activities and not prosecute him—a decision which was apparently taken at the suggestion of Colonel Andres Soriano, a millionaire Spanish business man who was once General Franco's representative in the Philippines. The favoritism shown by the American army probably provided the margin of victory for Roxas by harassing his most active opponents, the radical peasants of central Luzon and elsewhere who had offered the most effective guerrilla opposition to the Japanese. How rapidly enemies become friends, friends become enemies and independence becomes dependence when profits are an overriding consideration!

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NETTLED BY THE SHRILL JUSTIFIED YELPS OF Clare Boothe Luce, the angel who presides over the destinies of the D. A. R. has effected one of those changes that, once or twice in a century, disturb the monolithic immobility of her charges. The President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, after several telegrams damning the "revolt" of a little band of Lucites, has decided to allow the Tuskegee choir to sing in Washington, since (unlike Marion Anderson, presumably) it "is famous throughout the land, and the request to appear in Constitution Hall cannot be classed as a publicity scheme." This is a partial, belated, and rather graceless change in the D. A. R.'s notorious policy of permitting "white artists only" to perform at the one Washington auditorium available; and, the world being what it is, we may as well greet this mitigated blessing with unmitigated delight. The disenchanted historian may guess that Mrs. Luce's Boston Tea Party was no more than the immediate cause of the new D. A. R. policy; upsetting rumors of the Emancipation Proclamation must have reached the President General, who may at this moment be bringing the bad news to Senator McKellar, a grudging recipient.

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BY ONE OF THOSE TYPOGRAPHICAL SLIPS that are of the most annoying variety because they convey a plausible meaning, we commented last week on "the court-martial system, which dooms enlisted men to drastic punishment for the mildest cases of disobedience but subjects officers merely to a reprimand for any other crime except murder, rape, black-market profiteering and cheating at cards, which is conduct unbecoming an officer." The sentence should have run, "... but subjects officers merely to reprimand for rape, black-market profiteering, and any other crime except murder and cheating at cards." As though to point up the error, General McNarney has just issued an order cracking down on officers and men alike for wholesale violations of army discipline, with particu-

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lar reference to illicit trading. And James Aronson, reporting to the New York *Post,* writes that "in Berlin black-market activities among American officers and troops have become so widespread that they have almost achieved the respectability of a gentleman's vice." Of the thousands engaged in these shady transactions, hundreds of enlisted men have gone to jail, but the immunity of officers to punishment for the same offense raises the question of whether the men were jailed for fleecing the people of a stricken continent or for indulging in a "gentleman's vice."

*

FORMATION OF A UNION FOR BASEBALL players finds the editors of this journal mildly interested, relatively ignorant, and hopelessly divided. Since we shall probably not return to the subject unless the Dodgers—"dem bums," as their public relations men prefer to have them known—start picketing Ebbets Field, we take this occasion to offer both majority and minority opinions. Speaking for the majority, our labor editor is all for the American Baseball Guild, which has just come into being under the direction of Robert Murphy, a Bostonian formerly with the National Labor Relations Board. Our labor editor lightly brushes aside the $30,000 salary drawn by Ted Williams and even the lot of Hank Greenberg, who draws twice that princely sum. Getting down to cases, he points to the one-sided economic arrangement in the big leagues whereby a player, however handsome his salary, is the chattel of his club owner. At the end of each season, when his contract expires, he can either accept a contract renewal, at terms fixed by his owner, or abandon his high calling and go open a bar and grill in Milwaukee. He cannot go to another owner and offer his services for the following season. He is bound to his club until his master sees fit to toss his out, to sell him for cash—of which the player gets not a nickel—or perhaps to trade him for two other players and a first-baseman's mitt. The guild would fix a salary minimum for the big leagues—important to easily exploited rookies, starry-eyed with the thrill of making the big team, give a player freedom to negotiate at the expiration of a contract, and assure him a percentage of his sales price. It seems to our labor editor that these gains more than offset the complications arising out of the peculiar nature of sport based on profits.

*

ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR SPORTS EDITOR, who is retained on the staff for just such quadrennial emergencies, takes a somewhat jaundiced view of the whole affair. He points out in the first place that if a player is permitted to auction off his services in a free market every season, the high-priced talent will gravitate to the millionaire clubs even faster than at present. The competitive balance between the clubs, which is nothing to brag about now, would be ruined completely. The individual player's skill has such a direct effect on the gate receipts, he insists, that the men are at present paid quite in proportion to their ability and that no player of major-league caliber can ever really be exploited. If the contract-and-option method of controlling a player's "labor" worked any hardship on the "chattel," it would be different—but our expert claims that it doesn't. He refuses to get worked up over the fate of twenty-year-old rookies who get a starting wage of only four or five thousand a year plus first-class travel expenses. As a matter of fact, he is inclined to be suspicious of Mr. Murphy's interest in the welfare of downtrodden shortstops and doubts that there has been or will be any great rallying to the cause from the player ranks. It should be pointed out however that since this sports editor of ours appears so infrequently, he is allowed to maintain certain bourgeois prejudices; and it may well be that his judgment is a little warped with horrifying visions of picket lines patrolling right field at the Polo Grounds and trios of base runners going on a sitdown strike with the score tied in the ninth.

Save the OPA

THE Senate will shortly have to make a decision that will determine the economic future of the United States for years to come. It must decide whether to continue the system of price control which brought us through the war without serious injury to the country's productive economy or to abolish or weaken the controls and thereby invite a repetition of the economic gyrations which followed the last war.

In no political battle since that over the Hawley-Smoot tariff have the stakes been so high. No one seriously doubts where the public stands. Reports from Washington indicate that the Senate is being deluged with letters and telegrams in support of the OPA. But the big business groups that are out to kill price control have also turned on the steam. The National Association of Manufacturers admits spending several hundred thousand dollars in its campaign to discredit the OPA. Other business groups, including the United States Chamber of Commerce and numerous trade organizations, have joined forces in what is obviously one of the most carefully planned lobbying campaigns in legislative history. This combination is a formidable one. Senators know from long experience that they can often ignore the will of the electorate and escape punishment at the polls. But they have found that the big business groups have a decisive word when nominations are made and political support is lined up in advance of the elections.

We do not mean to suggest that Congressional opposition to the OPA comes solely or even primarily from craven puppets of big business. Some of it, like that

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of Senator Capehart, the former juke-box king, can be accounted for more directly. And a great deal undoubtedly springs from honest confusion. Inequities are bound to crop up in any system of price control, and Congressmen, with the aid of their constituents, have undoubtedly seen numerous instances of what they feel to be unfair applications of the law. They have little opportunity, on the other hand, to view the values of price control in its larger aspects. It is an unfortunate fact that the most impressive demonstration of the benefits of price control would be the disaster that followed its repeal.

A potent factor in the opposition to the OPA is the belief, carefully nourished by the N. A. M., that the price agency is responsible for the current shortages. Congressmen, like the rest of us, see scarcities on every side, many of which seem inexplicable. Specific cases can be cited in which producers, hopeful of price relief from the OPA, have slowed down or held back production.

The killing of the OPA would undoubtedly bring a lot of such goods out of hiding. The prospect of higher prices might also stimulate the production of some scarce commodities where the present profit margin is too narrow to permit plant expansion. But contrary to the N. A. M.'s view, an increase in prices would not assure a rise in production. Profit levels are generally high today, as can be seen by the balance sheets of the vast majority of our industrial and commercial establishments. Strikes have constituted the major barrier to all-out production in recent months; but a new rise in prices would almost certainly set off a new wave of crippling strikes.

Nor is there any validity, apart from the strike threat, in the claim that rising prices will stimulate production. Prices never rise smoothly. The dislocations and inequities which are inevitable in an inflationary situation create numerous bottlenecks in production. Moreover, as any recent visitor to Europe or China can testify, an inflationary rise in prices is more often than not accompanied by industrial stagnation because speculation becomes more profitable than production.

The danger is not, of course, that the OPA will be completely liquidated at this time. Such action would be far too risky on the eve of an election. What is to be feared is that a Republican-Southern Democratic coalition in the Senate will keep some of the major amendments adopted by the House any of which would probably be sufficient to bring about a collapse of the present wage-price line.

The public must be on guard particularly against the amendment that would remove controls on commodities in which the 1940-41 level of production has been attained. This proposal, which has strong farm-bloc support, has as its obvious purpose the removal of controls on most agricultural products. It would be difficult to conceive of a more irresponsible suggestion. A rise in food costs would be immediately followed by demands for higher wages, with inevitable repercussions on the price of industrial goods. A curtailment in subsidies would provoke the same reaction. Republican support for these two measures is apparently predicated on the assumption that the Truman Administration would be held responsible for the ensuing economic chaos.

The protests against weakening the OPA are already strong enough to justify Chester Bowles's prediction of the greatest demonstration of democracy in action that this country has ever seen. But they have not yet reached a sufficient volume or been widely enough distributed to assure the defeat of all the crippling amendments imposed by the House. The crisis is a national crisis but the protests have come largely from the cities of the Northeast and Far West. It would be well if other sections, particularly the Middle West and South, recalled the effects of the collapse which followed our last postwar inflation.

Paris Is the Pay-Off

JUST a year ago the victorious Anglo-American and Russian armies were fraternizing enthusiastically on the banks of the Elbe; Nazism had at last been trampled in the dust and a new hope dawned for the world. But even as toasts were exchanged at Torgau, statesmen in San Francisco were wrangling over the terms of the United Nations Charter and opening the rift between Russia and the West which has been growing wider ever since.

At Hunter College the atmosphere is heavy with disillusion. The Security Council, instead of developing as a cooperative organ for the solution of international questions, is already degenerating into a forensic circus where diplomatic gladiators score petty victories. Russia, sullenly convincing itself that it is the victim of a capitalist conspiracy, practices obstruction and creates precedents for inaction it may some day regret. The United States and Britain, smugly aware of their compact majority in the Council, criticize Russian intransigence while smothering attempts to root out the fascist infection in Spain. Meanwhile, Europe waits, suspended between war and peace, hungry, insecure, neurotic, unable to settle down to work or plan for the future.

There is little point in trying to assess the responsibility for this situation. All the Big Four powers have shown an infinite capacity for perceiving the motes in alien eyes; none has displayed any talent for imaginative understanding of other nations' points of view. Here we sit on a growing pile of atomic bombs and wonder fretfully why the Russians should doubt our good intentions. Moscow for its part excoriates our baseless suspicions, while assiduously experimenting in the science of political fission through the Communist parties whose allegiance it commands.

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Twelve months after the end of hostilities in Europe we have reached a kind of zero hour. If the Foreign Ministers at the conference which has just assembled in Paris cannot lessen the gap between east and west, cannot find some *modus vivendi* for peace-making in Europe, we do not see what is to stop the division of the world into permanently antagonistic blocs. We can only hope that the ministers will realize that this is indeed the pay-off, that if their deliberations on this occasion are as sterile as those in London last fall they will probably not have a third chance. We do not pitch our expectations very high; we do not suppose that they can settle all outstanding differences; but we do demand that they make a beginning in reestablishing unity.

A few reasons for very cautious optimism can be cited. The Soviets apparently are taking this conference very seriously. They have sent their strongest team to Paris, accompanied by a formidable array of experts. Moreover, they have opened with a gesture of good-will by agreeing to allow France to sit in on discussions of the Balkan treaties—the very issue on which Molotov's obstinate stand broke up the London conference last year. This is an astute reversal as well as a graceful one, for Moscow has much to gain by conciliating France. But it may also be a sign that the Soviet government realizes that it has been overplaying its hand and by the very aggressiveness of its tactics giving substance to its fears of a hostile combination of powers.

At any rate this easy settlement of the problem of French participation has given the conference a good start. But a great many far more complicated questions are on the agenda, with the peace terms for Italy at the top. Many of the demands that Russia has made or implied in respect of an Italian settlement are plainly preposterous. It cannot really expect that Britain, or France for that matter, would be willing to see it established in Tripoli in a position to command the Mediterranean. And it must be aware that its claims for reparations from Italy are claims for blood from a stone. They could only be made good if the United States supplied the blood in the form of loans. Again its current veto against the return of the indubitably Greek Dodecanese Islands to Greece, unless it is given a naval base there, is little better than blackmail.

No doubt some of these demands are bargaining counters put forward to offset Anglo-American demands in the Balkans. Perhaps Russia will withdraw its bid for Tripoli if assured a secure outlet to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, or will consent to the return of the Dodecanese to Greece if Britain gives up Cyprus. But the time for bluff has passed. If the Paris conference is not to fail, Russia must put its cards on the table, making known what it wants and what it is prepared to give.

We and the British must follow suit, but more than that, we must first decide what game we are going to play. If we are going to take a tough line against Russian imperialism we must be prepared to surrender our own imperialist positions. We cannot demand that Russia should explore the international trail to security while we stick to the nationalist highway. If this is too idealistic a course for us, then we must be prepared to give Russia a free hand in its security zone in return for its non-intervention in the West. Let America and Britain, in other words, put off the armor of self-righteousness and call upon Russia to do likewise, for only when stripped of pretensions can we hope to begin building peace.

Same Fears; Same Errors

A FARCE as tragic and disheartening as that of "non-intervention" is reaching its climax in the Security Council of the United Nations as we go to press. Whatever the final action of the Council on the Australian resolution for an inquiry on Spain, the debate so far has served to encourage Franco, to undermine the morale of the Republican opposition, and to widen the rift between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and Great Britain on the other. It is this tendency of the Spanish issue to divide the world into two camps that constitutes Franco's greatest threat to international peace and security. Fascist Spain, which provided an Axis testing ground for the Second World War, is helping to split the United Nations, the one hope of preventing a third.

Behind the unwillingness of the American and British governments to take action against Franco, behind their insistence on more "evidence," is the old fear of communism. This fear, in turn, reflects a lack of faith in democratic processes. It assumes that a Spanish Republic is an impossibility, that Spain must go Communist if not held down by some tightly reactionary regime. The result is to create the very thing feared, to throw leadership to the Communists and the Soviet Union, to discourage those who look to the democratic powers for support. This discouragement has spread even to the monarchists, who now seem to feel that Franco may succeed—Perón style—in strengthening himself with a plebiscite. The Spanish government's decree for a census to be used as the "basis for a referendum" indicates that the Spanish dictator is beginning to hope that he may yet survive the collapse of the Axis.

The pusilanimous attitude of the Security Council made it appear that Franco would gain something, whatever its final action. The defeat of the Polish resolution would raise his prestige at home. The passage of the Australian resolution might be utilized to turn the investigation against the Soviet Union and the Spanish Republicans, to give the Franco regime a chance to accuse them of endangering world peace and security. An attempt by the Soviet Union to veto the resolution,

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whether successful or not, would further embitter relations between the powers.

A year after the defeat of the Axis fascism is already beginning to recover. Perón might have been defeated had the United States and Britain joined with the Soviet Union at San Francisco in barring Argentina from the United Nations. Franco could still be forced out of power by a united stand in the Security Council. A year from now the State Department may regret its attitude on Spain as its regrets the treatment of Argentina at San Francisco. The old fears are leading to the old mistakes, and these in turn may culminate in a new catastrophe.

The Case of the Mufti

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 28

THE forthcoming report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, which may be released before this appears in print, makes the case of the Mufti number-one business for those who desire a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem. If this Arab war criminal is permitted to return to Palestine, the stage will be set for trouble, not only between the Arabs and the Jews, but between the great powers in the Middle East—for Haj Amin el Husseini is a genius at intrigue.

From advance accounts it appears that the report of the Committee of Inquiry leaves unsettled the long-range political problems of Palestine but would permit the entry of 100,000 displaced European Jews, as demanded last year by President Truman. The one hope of those who wish to block the grant of the required 100,000 certificates is to stir up large-scale, prolonged Arab riots in the Holy Land, and the one man who can do that is the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Hitler's collaborator, who is now living sumptuously in a villa near Paris.

Those who hope that the grant of the certificates may pave the way for better feeling between Britain and world Jewry, those who would like to see the British and American governments join in the Lowdermilk plan for a Jordan Valley Authority, those who look to the meeting of the United Nations Assembly next fall for a solution of the Palestine problem fair to both Jews and Arabs must prevent the Mufti's return or see their hopes blasted. If he returns, he and his followers will again terrorize the moderate Arab leaders, as they did during the 1936-39 uprising. The difficulties of responsible and moderate Jewish leadership will also be greatly increased, for in a sworn statement made at Nürnberg on March 5 by S. S. Hauptsturmsführer Dieter Wisliceny, former chief assistant to the head of the Gestapo's Jewish Extermination Bureau, the Mufti was declared "one of the initiators of the systematic extermination of European Jewry by the Germans." If the British allow Haj Amin to return, the bitterness engendered among Palestine Jews will strengthen the terrorist minority that was responsible for such outrages as the murder of seven British soldiers in Tel Aviv last week, a crime that has shamed every friend of Palestine.

The rich annals of appeasement contain no more striking story than that of Haj Amin el Husseini, no more convincing testimony to the readiness of the British government to be gulled. This Axis tool owes his eminence to the fatuous magnanimity of Sir Herbert, now Viscount, Samuel, himself a Jew. Haj Amin's agitation first drew blood in the savage Jerusalem pogroms of 1920. He fled to Transjordan, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment *in absentia,* benefited by amnesty, and returned to be appointed Mufti by Sir Herbert, although his name did not appear on the list of three candidates picked by the Moslem leaders of the country for submission to the government. Sir Herbert's advisers were convinced that this rather fulsome gesture would make a loyal subject of Haj Amin, and despite all that has happened since, the Mufti hopes to be again the beneficiary of such miscalculation. "If you now give this country its rights," his lieutenant, Jamal Husseini, told the Anglo-American Committee in Jerusalem, "the Grand Mufti will be to you a second General Smuts." The comparison is a colossal bit of cheek.

Haj Amin's career hardly parallels that of the noble Boer. The Mufti repaid British generosity by becoming the agent first of Mussolini and then of Hitler in the Middle East. His dealings with the Italians were proved by letters published in the Palestine Arab press as early as 1935. Two years later the outrages committed by his followers against Arabs, Jews, and Britons alike became too much even for the appeasement-minded, and the Palestine government ousted him from the presidency of the Supreme Moslem Council. Haj Amin fled to the Lebanon to escape arrest, exploiting Franco-British rivalry to obtain asylum there and to carry on his anti-British propaganda undisturbed. He was allowed by the French to resume his ties with German and Italian agents. When the war broke out, he escaped into Iraq, where he became a dominant political power. He helped put the traitor, Rashid Ali, into the premiership and engineered the Iraqi revolt in 1941. Had that Axis-inspired rebellion succeeded, Hitler would have had

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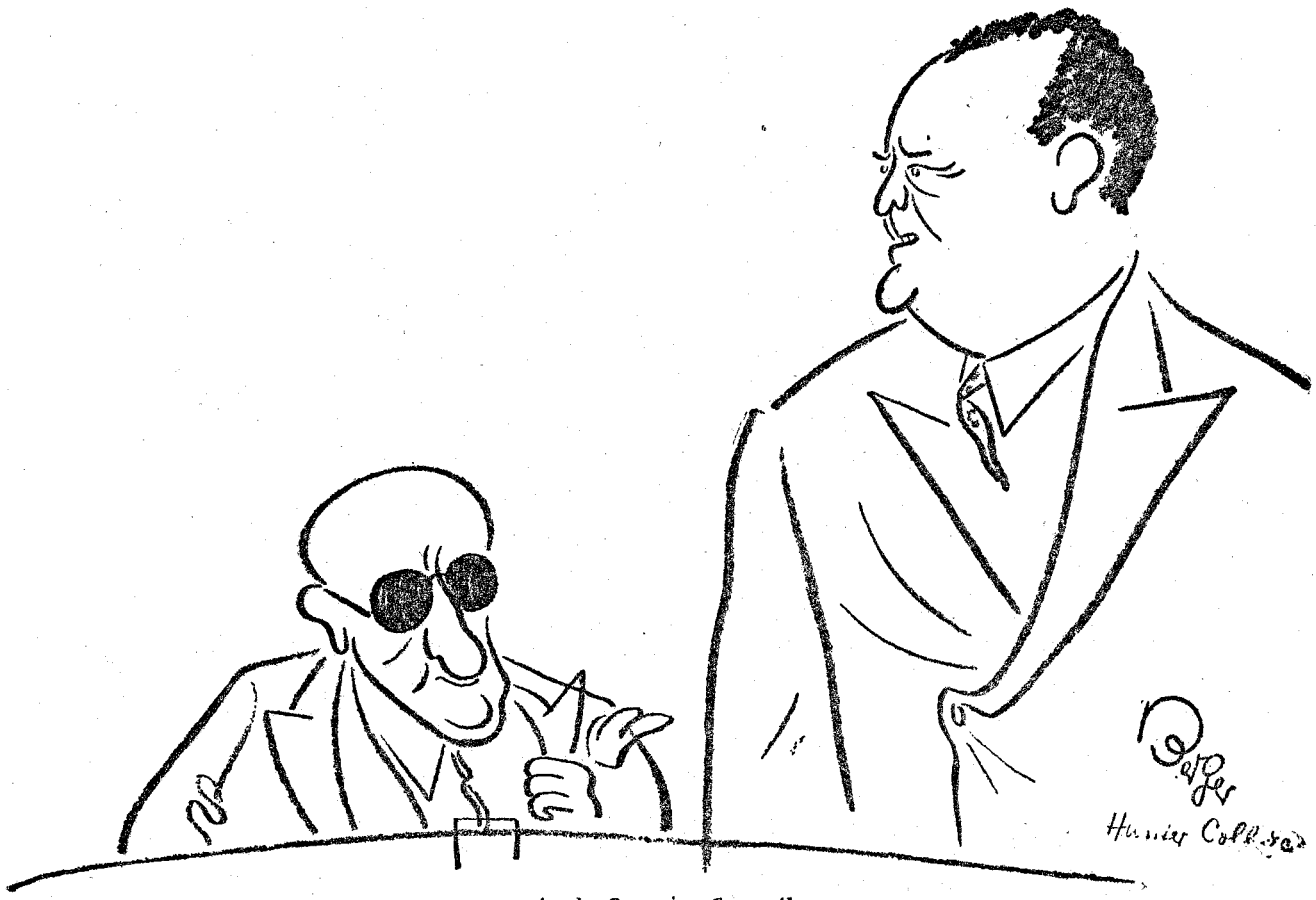

At the Security Council

a base from which to strike north at the Russian oil fields and southwest to the Suez, and the two turning points of the war—Stalingrad and El Alamein—would have been Axis victories.

With the collapse of the Rashid Ali revolt, Haj Amin fled for refuge to the Japanese legation in Teheran, whence he moved on—just ahead of the Russian and British occupying troops—to triumphant welcomes in Rome and Berlin. He engaged in the organization of propaganda and espionage, and formed the Arab Legion, which fought as part of the Wehrmacht on the eastern front. Eleven days after Pearl Habor he gave the Domei news agency an interview—broadcast the next day over Radio Berlin—in which he declared, "Japan's successes benefit the whole of Asia and all the Asiatics who are suffering under the Anglo-Saxon yoke." As late as October 11, 1944, he sent a telegram of thanks on behalf of the Moslems of Eastern Asia to the Japanese Premier. He played a leading part in the anti-Jewish propaganda and atrocities of the Nazis and organized Moslem S. S. units which operated in Yugoslavia. Yet for some mysterious reason the Yugoslavs have taken him off their war-criminals list, and Under Secretary Hector McNeil, in reply to a question in the Commons on April 15 of this year, said, "The Mufti is not a war criminal in the technical sense of the term."

The French government is playing the same kind of stupid, dirty role in connection with the Mufti that it played in 1937. The Swiss government, in compliance with Allied directives against harboring Axis war criminals, twice deported Haj Amin when he tried to find asylum there in May, 1945, after the German collapse. But the French, then squabbling with the British over the Levant, thought they could use him against the British. Haj Amin was permitted to enter France late in May. He was placed under nominal house arrest in a villa outside Paris but was treated, according to a French news-agency dispatch of May 30, 1945, "with every consideration due to an outstanding personality of the Islamic world." Since the parley last November which patched up the Franco-British quarrel over the Levant, the two governments have been "passing the buck" to each other when asked what is to be done about the Mufti. On April 17 of this year the French government hit an all-time low in duplicity. It broadcast in English to North America an attack on Haj Amin as a war criminal and on the very same day broadcast in Arabic to the Levant a note of thanks from the Secretary General of the Arab League thanking France for the "privileged position" and protection accorded the Mufti. There is good reason to believe that in a short time the French, with the tacit approval of the British government, will permit the Mufti to leave France for the Middle East.

Some Britishers seem to think they can use Hitler's tool as their own. Only strong public protest in Paris and London can prevent the Mufti's resumption of Arab leadership in Palestine. There will be trouble, with international repercussions, if he does.

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What Does Lewis Want?

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

Staff reporter for the Washington Post *covering labor and economic subjects*

THE woods are full of people who have tried to figure out John L. Lewis. They are a frustrated group, a pleasant sight only to the unemployed psychiatrist. Lewis's motives, objectives, and satisfactions do not lend themselves to easy analysis. The man is neither all black nor all white, nor even marked off in clear sections of black and white, like Pierrot. His purest aims always contain a sizable amount of the dross of self-seeking; his most patently shabby goals always have a touch of nobility.

The present coal strike, for example, is a complicated device for injecting the dose of exaltation periodically necessary to sustain the Lewis ego. At the same time, it is a simple means of obtaining for 400,000 miners wage increases comparable to those enjoyed by other workers. It offers Lewis the opportunity to strut in professional gatherings as the hottest pilot ever to shoot down a table full of employers and thereby to establish himself as the dominant figure in the A. F. of L., the victor over his hated enemy Murray, the conqueror of the national stabilization program, and in consequence the most potent man in America. Yet it is also a way of giving his followers the security wrongfully denied them for years, of overcoming inequities so gross that they should have been corrected two decades ago.

Whatever the uncertainty about just what Lewis is seeking, one thing is clear: up to date he has been stalling. During March and the first ten days of April, before "negotiations" were broken off, there was no collective bargaining. Lewis declined to state his demands in specific terms. More important, he refused to consider several offers made by the employers. Evidently he figured that his real demands were such that they could not be met until public pressure had been built up to end the strike.

For more than three weeks of the strike such pressure was all but non-existent. When the walkout began, the supply of coal above ground was larger than usual. Now, at the end of April, the situation is getting tougher, and Lewis may assume that the time is ripe to talk business. He obviously hopes that this strike will be settled, as most others have been, by one company being so tempted by the prospect of profits that it will break out of the operators' conference and accede to the U. M. W.'s demands. Then the other operators will emit a loud public cry of indignation at the treachery and a private joyful sigh of relief that they can follow suit and settle up.

Though Lewis has not yet formulated his demands in detail, a couple of his objectives are obvious. In the matter of wages he wants something more than the 18½ cents which is the C. I. O. pattern. Persons close to the negotiations insist that this demand is no problem; the operators are willing to give him the 18½ cents since they can recover it in higher prices. Under more pressure they will grant a few extra pennies; these will not be compensated by higher prices, but the operators can squeeze profits a little for the sake of resumption of operations. Talk that the wage demands will force the mine owners to price themselves out of the market is largely unfounded. The point is on the horizon but has not been reached.

However, "a few extra pennies" more than the pattern is not enough for Lewis. He wants substantially more, more than the operators can pay out of profits. Hence his demand for a welfare fund to be paid through a royalty, presumably 10 cents a ton, on all coal mined. If this is granted, and if Bowles and Porter acquiesce, the owners could conceivably charge the royalty to their costs and take their new figures to OPA for an increase in ceilings.

The accident rate in coal mines is a horrifying surprise to those who first learn of it. During the fourteen months ending last February, for example, one out of every four West Virginia miners suffered an accident in the pits, with an average disability period of forty days. The accident-frequency rate is some twelve times higher than among production workers at General Motors. The only industry with a worse record is heavy logging. There are, to be sure, some state compensation laws, but these vary from fairly decent in Pennsylvania to downright dreadful in the Southern states. In some states insurance coverage by the mines is optional. The mine at which the recent Kentucky disaster occurred had not participated in the insurance plan, and the widows and orphans of the victims had not a penny coming to them. The situation is the result of the owners' troglodytic attitude over many decades. Had they followed the more enlightened safety policy of most of American industry and spent a few millions in making their mines safe, they would have recovered

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their investment ten times over, and the present crisis would not be plaguing them.

Lewis's case on the need for a welfare and insurance fund is unassailable, and the owners must grant some kind of benefit system. But Lewis's demand that the fund be administered solely by the union can hardly be defended. There is probably room for a compromise, with public or joint administration of the money.

Once negotiations begin in earnest, accompanied by public pressure to settle, Lewis and the operators will probably be able to come to terms. A more difficult question is what happens to the stabilization program in the process. Bowles is fond of asserting that the program can stand one blow below the belt every twelve months but no more. The last one came only two months ago with the settlement of the steel strike. Will an 18½-cent pay increase in coal, plus a royalty payment, both of which must be reflected in higher coal prices, be a blow which the stabilization program can survive? Lewis, it may be assumed, hopes it will be the death of the program, for he has frankly admitted that he would like to see all government controls buried deep in hell. If this is one of the results of the strike, Lewis can count on becoming the favorite labor leader of a large part of American industry.

How long will the strike last? As usual in matters in which Lewis is involved two contradictory answers seem equally logical. The first is that the strike will inevitably become a strike of Lewis against the government and will therefore be drawn out for many more weeks. Bowles and the Administration cannot give in and take the consequence of inflation, but they have no effective compulsion against a tough, rich union. The second possibility is that the strike will end much sooner than anyone expects, for Lewis is now striving to become a "labor statesman" in the public eye and therefore will be swift to heed public opinion if it runs against him.

Czechoslovakia's Rebirth

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Prague, April 25

BEFORE my departure for Europe I wrote a *Nation* article about Czechoslovakia in which I called it the republic of common sense and expressed the conviction that it would make the most rapid strides toward economic and political recovery. At that time I had at hand only Benes's first address to Parliament and the few stories that had been published in the press. But I had known Benes for many years and had observed him in many different situations. I saw him in New York early in the summer of 1939 after his country, like mine, had been sold out by the democracies; I saw him again on his visit to New York when the war was turning definitively in favor of the Allies. A difficult heritage had fallen to him—it is not easy to be the successor of Thomas Masaryk, one of the greatest men the century has produced—but he carried that heritage faithfully and added to it the stamp of a remarkable personality. Benes has grown in the last twenty years to become one of Europe's ablest statesmen, that rare kind of leader who combines shrewdness with honesty, adaptability with loyalty to principles. He went through the hardest trial of his life, the tragedy of Munich, without once faltering. At the first vigorous reaction of the democracies after the French débâcle, he knew that Czechoslovakia would rise again and that he must take the lead in the effort to repair the terrible damage which appeasement and stupidity had inflicted on his country. In New York three years ago he was as confident of his country's future as he is today in Prague. But I doubt whether even he expected such an extraordinarily rapid recovery.

People who travel through Europe today on business or in government service all come back to Paris enchanted by Belgium. I, too, went to Belgium before proceeding to Prague. While the Belgian effort deserves the greatest praise, post-war recovery in Belgium and Czechoslovakia are two very different matters and only people without political insight can put them on the same level. What is taking place in Czechoslovakia is not simply recovery; it is also one of the most valuable post-war experiments in social justice and economic democracy. I cannot remember another case where the social structure of a country that has gone through the disintegrating ordeal of Nazi occupation has been so thoroughly transformed in so short a period. But of one thing I am certain: never has such a profound change been accomplished with less friction and with such great popular support.

From the moment the traveler crosses the Austrian-Czech frontier at Horni Dvoriste, the picture changes. His delight at seeing Kitzbühel and Salzburg again has been tempered by the general impression of distress: according to the information I could gather as I crossed Austria, the food situation has deteriorated incredibly in the last three weeks. The first sight of Czechoslovakia brings a feeling of relief. Suddenly everything seems to return to normal: the customs officials and police are dressed in good uniforms; coffee is brought to the train —coffee with sugar, in a Europe where the lack of sugar

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defies even the audacious talents of the black marketeers. The renowned coffee-houses of Prague offer the customer everything he may desire. Shops are well stocked; every week some new article in the store windows draws admiring glances from the strolling crowds. Here people walk for pleasure even late in the evening; Prague is a much better-lighted city than Paris. The number of bookshops is unbelievable; the Czechs, who always read a great deal, are reading more than ever before. British and French and Swiss papers are snatched up quickly. Though theirs is a small country, the Czechs are convinced that they have an important role to play and they are eager to learn for themselves what is going on in the world. Even more important than the material recovery is the moral one. There is no fear or uncertainty about the years ahead; almost everyone feels sure of his country and of himself. Unemployment is unheard of in Czechoslovakia today; there is plenty of work for all, and work that will benefit not the trusts and the capitalists but the nation and the people as a whole.

Liberation and recovery are not the words that one hears most frequently. The Czechs are talking about revolution. Astonishing to say, I heard Catholic priests discussing it with little sign of repugnance or alarm. The Czech Catholic press is in general sympathetic to the cause of the Spanish Republic, and it was a Catholic priest, Halla, the Minister of Communications, who recently said to a member of the French M. R. P., "Tell Bidault and Gay that French influence in Central Europe will be nullified as long as France does not take a strong position of friendship toward the U. S. S. R." (His statement was quoted in the March issue of the French Catholic monthly *Esprit.*)

Confidence in Czechoslovakia's ability not only to regain its pre-war standards but to surpass them was the common note of the two long talks I had with Prime Minister Fierlinger and Vice-Premier Gottwald, who head the present government. I saw them both in their homes, without the formality of an official visit, and I had the feeling that in those intimate surroundings they were very much at their ease in answering all my questions. Each of the men is quite impressive in his own way. Fierlinger, a member of the Social Democratic Party, seems almost to have been born to head a coalition government. He can be both conciliatory and firm; he gets along with parties and men, but he knows also where he is going. His entire policy is guided by two main purposes: to assure the continued participation in the government of the four parties which now compose it, and to retain the support of the trade unions. The day I visited him he had spent the morning at the first national congress of the *Revolucni Odborove Hnuti* (R. O. H.), or Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. He explained to me how, since its formation immediately after the end of the war, the R. O. H. has been directly associated with the Cabinet in all matters concerning labor: "You saw Foreign Minister Masaryk and me at the congress this morning. We were there not only because the working class played a predominant role in the battle of liberation but because without its wholehearted cooperation we would not be in the enviable situation which you just described. I would not think of staying in my present post for another day if I felt I had lost the support of the unions." That he has not lost it was evident from the enthusiastic reception he got when he stepped into the congress hall.

The next elections, on Sunday, May 26, will decide whether Fierlinger will continue as Premier or be replaced by Dr. Zenkl, present Lord Mayor of Prague and a member of the National Socialist Party, to which Benes once belonged. (Even if the Communists should get the largest vote, it is rather unlikely that there would be a Communist Premier.) The real contest will be between the Communists and the National Socialists, with the Social Democrats probably running third. The Communists are convinced that they will poll the biggest vote; right now, after talking to many different people, I think the chances of the Communists and the National Socialists are practically even. But of course the picture may change in the three weeks that remain. Dr. Zenkl has a reputation as a good administrator, but it would be a pity to see Fierlinger leave the premiership just when he is in the middle of a successful job.

Klement Gottwald has been chairman of the Communist Party since 1927, and when I was in Moscow in 1935 held the post immediately under Dmitrov in the Comintern. He was kind enough to interrupt a brief Easter Sunday holiday to receive me since I was leaving Prague in a few hours. We spoke mainly about production and the nationalizations. "We cannot complain," he said; "compared with 1938 figures, lignite production has reached the 100 per cent mark, hard coal 90 per cent, steel 70 per cent, and the majority of the other industries 50 per cent. And every month shows a new advance. We could do still better were it not for the lack of certain raw materials—for instance, wool—and of skilled workers." "But Mr. Minister," I interrupted, "the Czech worker is very able." "Yes," Gottwald agreed, "only you must not forget that of the 3,500,000 Sudetens we are sending to Germany, almost 800,000 are industrial workers. There is a gap that must be filled." Then he added quickly, "But we would do it again, no matter what the consequences to the national economy. We place the security of the state above any consideration of technique or production." As he spoke, I was thinking of a remark a member of an Allied mission had heard the day before from a Sudeten about to be deported: "The day we have enough V-2 robot planes, we will come back. With other surprises too. And we will put these Czech swine in their place again." Or this even more illuminating com-

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ment of a repentant Sudeten Nazi: "Das Vierte Reich ist schlechter als das Dritte, aber das Fünfte Reich wird besser sein"—"the Fourth Reich is worse than the Third, but the Fifth Reich will be better."

Gottwald told me much more than is commonly known about the nationalization program, a large part of which has already been accomplished. Coal mines, all sources of electric energy, the banks, a large proportion of the metal factories, certain groups of food industries, and the movies have already been nationalized; he cited a series of figures which indicate how well they are doing under state ownership. He said that now the nationalization period can be considered as finished; all other privately owned enterprises will be able to continue working without fear of being taken over by the state.

Like Fierlinger, Gottwald expressed himself categorically in favor of continuing the national government coalition. The two men seem to complement each other and work very well together; they were both in Moscow during the last years of the war when Fierlinger was the ambassador of the Czech government in exile. But their mutual esteem would not in itself be sufficient; their successful collaboration is based on the good relationship which exists between the Socialists and Communists. In this respect, too, Czechoslovakia is better off than other European countries.

[*Next week Mr. del Vayo will discuss Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.*]

The Vatican and Soviet Russia

BY GEORGE LA PIANA

Morison professor of church history at Harvard and author with Gaetano Salvemini of "What to Do with Italy"

RECENT religious and political developments in the Soviet Union make possible a closer estimation of the losses incurred by the Catholic church in Eastern Europe as a direct result of the war and the victory of Russia. These losses cut deep into the vital interests, both religious and political, of the Vatican in a score of European states. It is clear that the Stettin-Trieste line, if that is to mark the western boundary of the so-called Russian sphere of influence, will mark also the eastern boundary of the Vatican's sphere of influence in Europe.

Beyond that line lie, first, the Baltic states, which were formerly bound to the Vatican by concordats—Latvia, 1922, Lithuania, 1927—granting to the Catholic church special privileges and state support. These countries, now Soviet republics, have discarded the concordats and adopted the religious policy of the Soviet Union.

Poland, for centuries a stronghold of Roman Catholicism, has ceased to be for it a door opening on the vast expanses of the Slavic world: it is now a door open in the opposite direction. The abolition of the Concordat of 1928, the most favorable ever obtained by the church in any country, has shorn the Polish church of all its economic and political power. The radical agrarian reform —long promised but never carried into effect by the previous government owing to the pressure of the landed aristocracy and the bishops—will weaken and possibly eliminate altogether the church's strong grip on the rural masses, now regimented in the new economic and social order on the Soviet pattern.

The changed boundaries of the new Polish Republic have added to the Catholic losses. On the eastern side the former Polish section of White Russia with its three bishoprics is now part of the Soviet Union. The Little Russians, or Ruthenians (a latinized form for Russians), have joined their brothers across the Carpathian Mountains in the Soviet Republic of Ukraine. Between two and three million Ruthenian Catholics of the Slavic rite, who had been savagely oppressed and persecuted by their former Polish Catholic masters, have already announced their rejection of all connection with Rome and their return to Orthodoxy, which they had abandoned far back in 1596. On the western side, the new Polish state has gained vast provinces, among them the whole of Catholic Silesia, where the church will now experience the same fate it has met in Poland proper.

Next comes Hungary, which after the First World War shrank to a small state of seven million inhabitants, of which only about two-thirds were Catholics. The church lost its possessions there during the red revolution of Bela Kun, but recovered most of them under Horthy's regime. At present Hungary, still under Russian military occupation, has a government controlled by the agrarian middle class with conservative leanings —in the sense that it is not disposed to adopt outright Communist institutions. On the other hand, the agrarian reform, now applied in earnest against the resistance of the bishops, marks the liquidation of the landed aristocracy and of the large ecclesiastical estates. The foundations of the political power of the church have collapsed: the economic, social, and political life of the new Hungary has to move within the orbit of the Soviet Union.

No more encouraging is the outlook in Czechoslovakia. Under the pre-war democratic regime the anti-

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Roman, anti-clerical current was so strong that the Vatican could not obtain a concordat but only a temporary *modus vivendi* (1928). Relations between the government and the Vatican were so strained that at one time the Apostolic Nuncio left Prague. The action of the Catholic Party of Slovakia, led by Monsignor Tiso, in standing with the Germans to the end of the war was a damaging blow to Catholic prestige in the whole country.

The treaty made with Russia by the Czechoslovak government in exile guaranteed the independence of the republic and the maintenance of its democratic institutions. But after the experience of Munich the Czechoslovaks know well that they must lean on Russia for safety. The present Prime Minister of the provisional government said recently, "The treaty of alliance with Russia will be the basis of our foreign policy, which will remain unchanged whatever the outcome of the elections." It is obvious that no Vatican proposals for new agreements will find willing ears there.

In the three states which form the southern links of Russia's "security system" are other factors working against the Vatican. The great majority of their populations belong to the national Orthodox churches. During the last century the Roman church made some gains in Rumania, and the Vatican concluded a concordat with that country in 1929. A similar concordat was negotiated with Yugoslavia, the population of Croatia and Slovenia being largely Catholic. But the government could not overcome the stubborn opposition of the Parliament, and the concordat was dropped. The new regime of Marshal Tito, so closely linked with Moscow, has dealt harshly with the Catholic bishops, whom it accuses of having given "a poor example of patriotism during the war," and has all but wrecked the church throughout Yugoslavia.

But the most important factor in the religious situation in the Balkans is Moscow's change of policy toward the Orthodox church. The Russian church, which as an integral part of the czarist regime was destroyed by the revolution, has risen from its ashes and is now rebuilding its old structure on new political foundations. It has revived the ancient Patriarchate of Moscow, which was abolished by Peter the Great, and is picking up the broken threads of its historical traditions. All this is done with the approval of the Soviet regime. The Russians are essentially a deeply religious people. Neither the anti-religious spirit of communism nor the atheist propaganda put out by the government had much influence outside the ranks of the Communist Party. Like Napoleon after the French Revolution, Stalin has learned that at this stage of Russian history the church may be useful. By helping it to regain a place in Russian life he has achieved three aims at one stroke. First, he has eliminated a cause of internal dissension and strengthened the spiritual unity of the Russian peoples. Second, he has put out of business the anti-Soviet Russian Orthodox church in exile, which claimed, not without some justification, to represent the true religious conscience of the Russian masses. Third, he has removed the label of "atheist" from the Soviet Union as a whole.

The new Russian church, however, has another and higher task to perform, that of gathering around its revived patriarchate the other Orthodox churches of Slavic countries and possibly of the whole eastern Mediterranean region. The czars always cherished the plan of uniting the Orthodox religious world under the protection of Russia. In spite of some partial success the plan fell short of realization because apart from the fact that the ancient Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople still had some powers left, the Russian church was too closely identified with czarism. It was not even ruled by a patriarch, but by a synod, the president of which was a layman, a minister of the state. The church of Russia lacked the spiritual prestige that goes with the office of a supreme ecclesiastical leader carrying on canonical and spiritual traditions.

By the restoration of the patriarchate the church of Russia has linked itself again with the regular tradition, and it is already able to claim a considerable degree of internal autonomy. At the ceremony of enthronement of the new patriarch, Alexei, in January, 1945, dignitaries of the other Orthodox churches were present. The official representative of the Soviet Union, George Karpov, thanked the Russian church for its loyalty and the sacrifices it made during the war. In his turn the Patriarch thanked the government for the aid given to the church and sent his heartfelt blessing to "the great leader Marshal Stalin." The first official document issued by Alexei —on February 9—contained a strong denunciation of the Vatican's Fascist and Nazi sympathies and an appeal to unity addressed to all Orthodox churches.

In March, 1945, the Patriarch visited in style the Holy Land and celebrated a pontifical mass at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, surrounded by the patriarchs or their representatives and by bishops of all the Eastern churches. In October he sent to the United States the Metropolitan of Yaroslav as his legate to reestablish the union of the Russian churches of America under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate. Since the end of the war the Orthodox churches of Serbia, Rumania, and Bulgaria have strengthened their connec-

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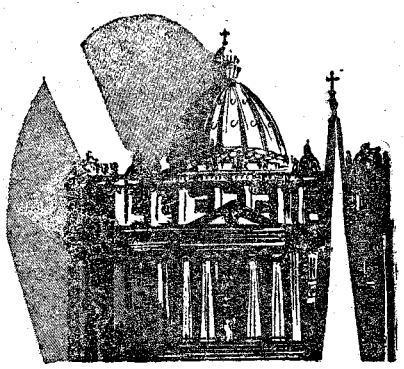
tions with Moscow. Stalin himself now smiles benevolently upon the Georgian and Armenian churches, and he recently bestowed a high decoration and a new automobile on the Gregorian Patriarch of Armenia.

Since the pan-Orthodox program of the Russian patriarchate coincides with the Soviets' program for expanding Russian political influence, it has more than a chance of success. The task of winning over the non-Slavic Orthodox and dissident churches will not be easy, but with the ancient Patriarchate of Constantinople reduced to a mere shadow and the other patriarchates broken into fragments and threatened by the Uniat propaganda of the Vatican, they may yield to the revitalizing Russian influence.

The Vatican is fully aware of this new development and of its threat to the whole long and patient work of Catholic penetration in the East. Above all, this change in Russia means that the old conflict between the Vatican and Moscow is shifting to different ground. As long as the Soviet Union was and appeared to be an out-and-out "atheist" state, the conflict was clear-cut—religion against atheism. On this issue the Vatican could count on the support of the whole Christian world. But now the conflict is changing into a struggle between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, between the church of the West and the church of the East. On this issue the Vatican cannot expect much support outside the Catholic fold.

In the light of these events the emphasis on "universalism" in the recent papal addresses explaining the wide choice of new cardinals and the bestowal of the red hat and of special attention on the Catholic Patriarch of Armenia acquire special significance. Incidentally, this patriarch, in spite of his high-sounding titles, rules over a church the size of a modest American bishopric. But Pius XII could not be niggard in comparison to Stalin. Neither the insistence of the Catholic press in calling Russia an atheist state nor its indictment of the Russian church as a mere tool of the Soviet Union can be of any real help to the Vatican in the struggle ahead. The revival of the Russian church—limited though it may be at present—is not a myth; it is a fact that affects the life of many millions of people within and outside Russia. Patriarch Alexei has officially denied that the activities of the church, the training of its clergy, or its schools are controlled by the government. At any rate, the loyalty of the Russian church to the Soviet Union cannot be questioned. The collaboration of church and state in a program of expansion, religious for the church and political for the state, has never been objected to by any church.

Behind this new militant antagonism of the two churches there is the old irreconcilable opposition between the economic, social, and political doctrines and institutions which the Vatican holds sacred and those of socialism and communism, now represented primarily, but not solely, by the Union of the Soviet Republics. For a century the popes have condemned socialism and communism as contrary to the laws of nature and of God. As long as these systems were only theories held by a few intellectuals and political agitators, the papal condemnation was of little consequence. But socialism and communism have now become active, and in some countries dominant, political forces: communism—with some modifications—is now the economic and social system of a great military power, the Soviet Union.



Since the Communists came to power in Russia, the Vatican has multiplied almost frantically its anathemas and has urged all the political and religious forces of the world to unite against this common enemy. The anti-Communist, anti-Russian campaign of the Catholic press the world over goes on unabated. The Soviet press in its turn loses no opportunity to attack the Vatican. Yet the Vatican has not hidden its keen desire to conclude with the Soviet Union some kind of agreement that would open the door of Russia to Catholic propaganda. The peace dove, however, flown from Rome or by intermediaries, has never brought back an olive branch.

The Vatican's plan is very simple. It does not imply that the church should retract its absolute and total condemnation of communism as such. But the church is willing and ready on practical grounds to come to a compromise even with a Communist state. All the Vatican asks is to be left free to organize the Catholic church in Russia under its direct control, and finally to convert all the Russians to the Roman Catholic faith. Pius XII in one of his recent addresses went out of his way to express his benevolence toward Russia, recalling his refusal in 1941 to join the Nazis and Fascists in their "holy crusade" against the Soviet Union. (Incidentally, some Russians may have thought that the Pope's refusal to break his official neutrality was not for love of the Soviet Union but for his own sake—to side with the Germans would have been a fatal mistake. The Russians may well wish now that the Pope had made this mistake.) The *Osservatore Romano* has also praised Stalin for his reassuring words about peace. The hope of a compromise with Russia is still strong at the Vatican.

To the outside observer it seems hardly possible that a subtle distinction between theoretical condemnation and practical agreement—though it worked well with a cynical egotist like Mussolini, who in a Catholic country needed the support of the church—could work at all with the men of Moscow, in a country which has reorgan-

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ized its national Orthodox church, an old rival of Rome.) The Soviet Union is still ruled by men who got their political education in the dangerous game of revolution, hunted as outlaws by the police. Secrecy, suspicion, and conspiracy were the only means by which they could survive and perhaps attain their goal. After they established the Soviets, Europe threw an iron ring around the new Russian state and looked upon it as an international outlaw. Hence secrecy and suspicion shaped Soviet policy and methods in international affairs. Mental habits are not easily dropped: secrecy and suspicion, even after the alliance with the Western powers and the common victory, still reign in Moscow.

To the men of Moscow the Vatican is the nerve center of a worldwide conspiracy against the Soviet Union: plots and intrigues are there woven by the secret papal diplomacy to increase everywhere the hatred of Russia. By the strange irony of events, Soviet Russia is now thundering against secret diplomacy, and the Vatican is now the outspoken champion of freedom of religion. The men of Moscow know well how dangerous a weapon secrecy may be and they want the monopoly of it; the men of the Vatican know well that freedom of religion is a dangerous heresy, and what they mean is freedom for themselves to monopolize religion.

It may be supposed that the Moscow leaders will not knowingly admit the enemy within their gates. To grant freedom of organization and propaganda, under present conditions, to the Catholic church in Russia would be tantamount to authorizing the Catholic clergy to read from the pulpits of Russia the papal encyclicals against the economic and social order of the Soviet Union and to teach anti-Communist doctrines in Catholic schools. Likewise, to let the Catholic church control through Catholic political parties the governments of countries within the Russian sphere of influence would undermine the Russian "security system," of which these countries are essential links. Unless the Vatican reverses its teaching concerning communism or Russia overthrows the Soviet regime, the gulf that divides the two will grow wider and deeper. Both alternatives are now unthinkable. In a world that is desperately seeking how to avert a new and perhaps final catastrophe the old explosive mixture of religion and politics is again at work.

Haiti's Bid for Freedom

BY RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER

Philadelphia lawyer and writer. Mr. Alexander has spent many years in the West Indies, particularly in Haiti.

Port-au-Prince, Haiti

FOUR and a half hours by plane from Miami, on the northern rim of the Caribbean, lies one of the most picturesque, historic, and misunderstood countries in the Western Hemisphere. Christopher Columbus, convinced that he had at last arrived in Asia, discovered the island of Haiti on December 6, 1492. In gratitude to his patrons, the King and Queen of Spain, he called it Hispaniola. The Indians had a word for it, however—Haiti, land of the mountains, and that name was afterward restored to use. In 1804, after more than three centuries of Spanish and French rule, Haiti won its independence. Since 1844 the island has been divided politically into two parts—Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Today Haiti has a population of 3,250,000, settled on 10,800 square miles of land, which means a very great density. Except for between ten and fifteen thousand whites, some foreign, some naturalized, these people are all "colored," or "Negroes" as we define race in America; perhaps 600,000 of them are mulattoes ranging from "light brown" to white.

The color question was one of the underlying causes of the unrest that erupted in the students' strike of January 7 and the overthrow of the regime of President Lescot on January 11. It is fantastic to say that the unrest in Haiti is of Communist origin. The students' uprising was merely the first breaking into flame of a long-smoldering resentment against the maladministration of Elie Lescot and his predecessor, Stenio Vincent.

Lescot's pre-election promises of greater democracy were sharply contradicted by his acts as President. Soon after taking office he forced the Senate and Chamber of Deputies to pass legislation extending his term of office, which was due to end January 15, 1945, until 1952. He assumed the right to extend the life of the parliament and to name successors for members who resigned or died. He took it upon himself to appoint the city mayors, who had always been elected by the people. He made his twenty-eight-year-old son Gerard Lescot, who was mentally and physically a child, Foreign Minister and head of the Haitian delegation to San Francisco, and named many other members of his family to high office.

While minister to Washington, Lescot received $30,000 from his government with which to buy arms in America; no arms were bought but the money was spent. To square his accounts he borrowed $30,000 from President Trujillo of Santo Domingo and in letters which have since been published pledged himself and "his

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family as eternal slaves" to Trujillo. Three months after becoming President, Lescot purchased a beautiful $80,000 estate from the president of the American-controlled Haitian-American Sugar Company. Afterward a monopoly of all Haitian cane was given to HASCO.

If anyone in the employ of the government uttered a word of complaint he was immediately discharged. If liberal newspapers were critical, they were suppressed and their editors imprisoned. Pierre Louis, editor of *L'Opinion*, died in jail. Max Houdicourt, editor of the *Nation*, fled to New York, where he worked for the Haitian underground until last January, when he returned to become a leader of the vigorous left-wing Parti Socialist Populaire. This group, with others, is trying to give a new deal to the Haitian workers.

The University of Haiti is supported and controlled by the government. Vincent and Lescot dictated all appointments. The student paper *La Ruche* (*The Hive*) bitterly criticized the stifling of academic freedom and demanded that the Four Freedoms, which Haiti had subscribed to at San Francisco, be established at home. Lescot suspended the paper.

The students showed their defiance in streets parades. Demonstrations by clerks in stores, laborers on the roads, and transportation workers paralyzed the economic life of the capital. Lescot's Cabinet, badly frightened, resigned and began to leave Haiti. After four days of rioting, the learned Dr. Georges Rigaud formed a committee which pointedly told the President that the people demanded his immediate resignation. Lescot refused and called in the head of the military, Colonel Frank Lauvaud, and his chief aides, Majors Antoine Levelt and Paul Magloire, ordering them to restore order at any cost. These men proved to be better administrators and truer democrats than Lescot. They talked with the popular leaders and then told the President that for his own safety he had better resign.

Colonel Lauvaud and Majors Levelt and Magloire, as a military junta, took over the government of the country. To this junta and its Cabinet must be given credit for an intelligent and fair administration, which has shown special concern for the depressed workers. When the junta was ready to return the government to civilians, it asked the Supreme Court to take over, but the court refused. Various citizens, including Dantes Bellegarde, were then asked to form a Cabinet, but all felt the military was doing a fine job. It was decreed, therefore, that a general election for a new parliament would be held May 12. Writing a new democratic constitution would be the parliament's first task; a presidential election would be held immediately after adoption of the constitution.

The banned parties and liberal newspapers are now flourishing. The dominant political philosophy is decidedly "left." The dark-skinned Haitians who make up 75 per cent of the population are belligerent because under Vincent and Lescot, who were mulattoes, they were denied places of responsibility in the Cabinet and diplomatic services. One of the junta's first acts was to appoint black Sylvio Cator, Haiti's great Olympic athlete, mayor of Port-au-Prince. Emile St. Lot, leader of the black party in Haiti, the Parti Populaire National, was made dean of the Law School of the University of Haiti. St. Lot is now actively campaigning for the Presidency.

The leader of the so-called Communist Party is Felix Dorleans Just Constant, a handsome, well-educated, and respected black priest of the Episcopal church, United States Diocese. He is a strong and colorful figure and an avowed Presidential candidate. In his open attempt to loosen the grip of the Catholic church on the government he is supported by a group of Protestant ministers who, though they do not share his political views, have joined him in a Protestant Front Party. They insist on the separation of church and state and oppose the government's annual cash grants to the Catholic church.

The Communist Party in Haiti is not actually a Marxian party. It is a strong socialist movement to end the oppression of the working classes and the corruption in the government. It wants to institute an educational program for the masses, still 75 per cent illiterate; to legalize labor unions; to end the granting of monopolies to foreign-owned corporations, chiefly American; and to begin an era of intelligent planning for Haiti's economic, social, and cultural recovery. Its leaders hope to see the Haitian-American Cooperative Commission on Education, of which our State Department is sponsor, broadened to become a vital part of Haitian cultural and economic life. This commission has greatly extended the average Haitian's knowledge and understanding of the United States and of the accomplishment of the American Negro.

All Haiti's democratic leaders urge an end to the American control of Haitian finances—instituted in order to protect a loan to Haiti of less than $12,000,000. They demand better-balanced commercial relations with the United States. Haiti is one of the world's greatest producers of fine coffee, sugar, bananas, and cotton, but the wealth thus created has been kept from the people by the monopolies granted Standard Fruit, the Haitian-American Sugar Company, and other firms.

Haiti deserves a better break from our State Department. Recognition of the new government, which was granted on April 8, will contribute to a revival of trade and agriculture, but a policy such as Adolph Berle recently introduced in Brazil, which would assure the country's planned economic development, is badly needed. A commission of capable Americans, including some outstanding American Negroes, might well be sent here as friends of Haiti to aid in its social, economic, and—even at the risk of the cry of intervention—political recovery.

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The Canadian Spy Case

BY B. K. SANDWELL

Editor of the Toronto Saturday Night

Toronto, April 19

IN SEPTEMBER of last year a person named Igor Gouzenko, a cipher clerk in the Soviet embassy at Ottawa, being much alarmed for his personal safety, communicated to the Ottawa police the fact that he had removed a number of very secret documents from the embassy, and that these documents concerned an organized effort by members of the embassy staff to obtain secret information from persons in the employ of the Dominion government. The Dominion government was at first reluctant to have anything to do with Mr. Gouzenko's information, since Russia was a friendly power, but ultimately decided that it would have to investigate.

On October 6, therefore, it passed a secret order-in-council, numbered P. C. 6444, which set forth that "the acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice, if satisfied that with a view to preventing any particular person from communicating secret and confidential information to an agent of a foreign power or otherwise acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state it is necessary so to do, may make an order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as he may from time to time determine." This order was passed under the powers conferred upon the government by the War Measures Act.

No action was taken against any person under this order until February 15, when thirteen persons were seized and detained by plain-clothes officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, rushed to the R. C. M. P. barracks in an Ottawa suburb, and held there, with no charge made against them and with no opportunity to communicate with counsel, for periods ranging from two and a half to six weeks.

During the time between the passing of the order and the taking into custody of the thirteen there was considerable discussion in Parliament about secret orders-in-council, and on December 6 John Diefenbaker, a prominent opposition member, speaking of another secret order which had just come to light, said: "The Minister says he does not know of the existence of this order. Will he tell us how many more secret orders there are which have not been produced?" The Minister of Justice replied: "That is not a secret order, and there are no secret orders." On March 19 the Minister of Justice, referring to this statement, told the House: "I said that was not a secret order and that there were no secret orders. I had no thought at that time of this order, which had not been used." On March 21 Mr. Diefenbaker said to the House: "Sir, is it not an indication of what power will do to men, what it will do to a former president of the Canadian Bar Association, one who had stood for the safeguarding of rights of Parliament and the individual, that he should forget an order-in-council which did more to sweep aside the rights of individuals than any other order-in-council passed in the history of Canada?"

The powers of detention granted to the Minister of Justice under this order are the same that he enjoyed under Section 21 of the Defense of Canada Regulations, but there is added the new power of interrogation before (or without) trial, and the whole is freed from any of the limitations and safeguards which Parliament eventually insisted on attaching to the Regulations. The Regulations were a war-time measure, and the sections dealing with the powers of detention were revoked August 16, 1945.

For two and a half weeks after February 15 none of the thirteen persons were allowed to see even their nearest relatives. For the first ten days the only communication allowed was between husbands and wives, by censored mail. It was not until twelve days after the seizures that the secret order-in-council was published, and until that time it was impossible for lawyers, engaged by relatives, to learn by what authority the detained persons were being held.

The detained persons appear to have been examined informally by the Mounted Police at intervals during their incarceration, and formally by a Royal Commission consisting of two judges of the Supreme Court of Canada. The evidence given by some of them has been accepted as proof in the preliminary hearings on charges under the Official Secrets Act, but without any suggestion that they had been warned that anything they said might be used against them—the invariable safeguard in the case of statements made to the police otherwise than in open court. After the detained persons had been questioned by the police and formally under oath before the Royal Commission they were given an opportunity to procure counsel, but not earlier.

The Royal Commission has issued a series of interim reports. The first of these named four persons, and in spite of the fact that none of them had had a public hearing or been defended by counsel, declared them guilty of an offense punishable by a fine up to $2,000 or imprisonment up to seven years with hard labor, or both. This report says: "The evidence so far, however, estab-

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lishes that four persons," who are then named, "have communicated directly or indirectly secret and confidential information to representatives of the U. S. S. R. in violation of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act."

The second interim report similarly declared guilty four persons who had not had a public hearing or been defended by counsel, and the third did the same with five others.

The difficulty which this creates in the matter of securing a fair trial for these persons when a charge is finally brought against them is obvious enough. It is hardly possible for the man in the street, having in mind the character and position of the two Supreme Court judges who issued these reports, to avoid feeling that the accused have already been properly tried and found guilty. That the examination by the Royal Commission was in no sense a trial is nevertheless clear from every circumstance in which it was held. It was secret, and the accused received no legal advice for their defense. Even the counsel who defended them later in their public trial were at first refused permission to see the evidence given by their clients before the Royal Commission—the very material upon which the prosecution's case was based—unless they would take an oath of secrecy concerning it.

Members of the government have denied that the right of habeas corpus was taken away by the order-in-council, which is technically true; the order merely makes it impossible for the detained person to avail himself of it because he cannot reach anybody who would put it in operation.

The reasons for all these remarkable departures from the ordinary procedure in criminal cases are possibly to be found in the belief of members of the government, stimulated thereto by that part of the R. C. M. P. which has had to deal with Communist activities, that the Gouzenko revelations afforded evidence of a widespread conspiracy in favor of Russia, possibly involving a much larger number of persons in confidential positions. It is to be noted that a considerable time elapsed between the first decision to act on the Gouzenko information, October 6, and the first step to apprehend any of the persons named by Gouzenko, February 15—a period of rather more than four months. The Royal Commission of two Supreme Court judges was not authorized until February 5. It is reasonable to suppose that during this interval, and indeed until the business of examining the suspects was well advanced, the government may have thought that it had a much larger and more dangerous bear by the tail than proved eventually to be the case. What it wanted to do was to get the suspects to implicate as many of their supposed fellow-conspirators as possible; and it is a notorious difficulty in conspiracy charges that, the crime being committed in common, the suspect cannot be compelled to give evidence against his fellows because in doing so he will be giving evidence against himself. If the government regarded the supposed conspiracy as involving grave danger to the state—which on the prima facie evidence it might reasonably have done—it might feel justified in suspending some of the constitutional safeguards. This is almost undoubtedly what happened; unfortunately such apprehensions have not been justified by the facts as so far revealed.

There is some doubt, however, as to the right of the government to remove these constitutional safeguards. That right is conferred by the War Measures Act, a permanent statute, but the right is dependent absolutely upon "the existence of real or apprehended war, invasion, or insurrection," and there was no real or apprehended war with Russia when the order-in-council was passed. During December Parliament brought to an end the right of the government to act under the War Measures Act, but granted it an extension of a limited fraction of its special powers under a Temporary Emergency Act, designed to meet the needs of the transition from war to peace. The War Measures Act remained in effect until the end of December, but it is extremely doubtful whether Parliament would have granted the government its extension of the more limited powers for the year 1946 if it had known that the old powers were being secretly used by the government to suspend the constitutional safeguards by an order-in-council which might have remained in effect throughout the present year. The incorrect statement of the Minister of Justice that there were no secret orders-in-council certainly greatly facilitated the passage of the extending legislation. Actually the government revoked this order-in-council almost as soon as the proceedings of the Royal Commission and the R. C. M. P. in the Gouzenko cases came under criticism; but by that time all the harm had been done.

What happened during the four months of inaction is necessarily largely a matter of conjecture. It may be assumed that there was a good deal of discussion with the other governments interested in the secrets which the Russians are supposed to have got hold of at Ottawa. Whether these discussions influenced the government in its choice of methods for handling the case is uncertain. A principal factor in that choice was probably the anxiety of an influential element among the French Canadians to obtain political material with which to combat the progress of communism in Quebec. The Minister of Justice is a French Canadian. There has long been a widespread feeling in Quebec that the government should not have repealed Section 98 of the Criminal Code, under which the leader of the Communist Party in Canada was successfully prosecuted some sixteen years ago. Quebec still has among its statutes the Padlock law, under which premises employed for Communist propaganda can be closed by the police, but it has not been used in recent years. With Section 98 out of the way, and with Russia at war with Germany, the Communist Party

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under its new designation of Labor-Progressive became comparatively respectable even in Quebec, but it is a matter of deep resentment with many French Canadians that a great working-class constituency in Montreal should be represented by a Communist under the label of Labor-Progressive. At any rate the method chosen was calculated to insure the utmost possible publicity for the accusations against the alleged suppliers of information to Russia, including Mr. Rose, the member in question, before their defense could be heard.

Calling All Social Scientists

BY STUART CHASE

Writer and economist; author of "Men at Work" and other books

DR. ELTON MAYO has been studying people in industry for a quarter of a century. He began his observations in Australia during World War I. Working on the problem of fatigue he found that women workers produced more shells in a ten-hour day than in a twelve. He was largely responsible for the great research project on labor incentives at Hawthorne, Illinois. Since then he has taken a more or less active part in a number of important studies. For many years he has been professor of industrial research at Harvard and an outstanding authority on man in the machine age. Yet when I asked 300 or more people at *The Nation's* conference on the atomic bomb if they knew his work, less than a dozen hands went up.

In 1933 Dr. Mayo wrote a volume called "The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization" which set forth his central thesis. Some day whole libraries will be devoted to this theme, for nothing is more significant—and until recently, more neglected. It has been suddenly highlighted in the glare cast by the bomb. It is carried forward in Dr. Mayo's latest book, "The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization" (published by the Division of Research of the Harvard Business School), which describes some of his studies in detail and also sets forth certain conclusions which come out of his work. I find them very exciting.

The thesis is this: Before the advent of the machine mankind lived in what Dr. Mayo called established societies, where the rules and folkways were familiar to all members of a given community; where every individual had his accredited place and knew what was expected of him. Now we live in *adaptive* societies, where applied science forces us constantly to change our ways of living, and we no longer know where we belong or what is expected of us.

The head rollers of the tin mills of western Pennsylvania served to illustrate the transformation. They came originally from Wales, knowing their trade from the ground up. They did well in Pennsylvania for several generations. In due course they owned their homes free and clear and became persons of solid worth in the community. Suddenly, about ten years ago, the technology of tin-plating gave a convulsive leap forward, and turned the head rollers out on the street. A new machine took over their task. They had no ready way to support their families, let alone maintaining their prestige and position in the community. Trained for an established society, the head rollers found themselves stranded in a society which placed a higher value on adaptability.

A young man in an average community a century ago acquired simultaneously the skills of his trade as an apprentice and the *social* skills of getting along with his fellows. Sanity for the individual implies a balanced relation between technical skills, in manipulating things, and the social skills of understanding and dealing with people. "Social skill shows itself as a capacity to receive communications from others and to respond to the attitudes and ideas of others in such fashion as to promote congenial participation in a common task." Think of the complex duties of a Mexican villager helping to put on the annual fiesta.

The machine plows into this order, scattering tin makers, steel workers, human cotton pickers, band players, fiesta organizers in all directions. People become placeless and lost, not only in their jobs but in their communities. Technical skills grow ever greater, but social skills wither away. No substantial effort is made to find new social skills to fit the machine age. It has been assumed that people would somehow stumble into new institutions which could cope with the new environment. Well, they did not and they will not.

Dr. Mayo finds two major symptoms of disruption in modern societies:

First, the relative number of unhappy individuals increases. Forced back on himself, with no real social responsibilities, the individual becomes a prey to unhappy and obsessive personal preoccupations.

Second, groups form, but they are not so well integrated into the whole society as they used to be. "On the contrary, their attitude is usually that of wariness or hostility. It is by this road that a society sinks into a condition of *stasis*—a confused struggle of pressure groups and power blocs. . . ." Indeed, who could be more wary and hostile than a John L. Lewis, a Caesar Petrillo, an

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Ed O'Neal, or the chiefs of the real-estate interests now ganging up on Wilson Wyatt's housing program? These gentlemen represent powerful organizations, but they do not represent society.

The issue which the bomb has highlighted lies right here—in an "industrial, mechanical, physico-chemical advance so rapid that it has been destructive of all the historic social and personal relationships. And no compensating organization, or even study of actual social relationships, has been developed that might have enabled us to face a period of rapid change with understanding. . . ." Our author is too modest. He and his colleagues—Warner, Lunt, Roethlisberger, Dickson, and others—have made an important if not a historical beginning in field studies of actual social relationships.

Dr. Mayo does not decry technological advance. It cannot be stopped, he says, and should be welcomed. But unless we develop social skills to help us adjust to change, the adaptive society, failing to adapt well enough itself, is doomed. In the past social skills were handed down from father to son in the family, in the guild, the shop, the church, the village green. Now, if they are to be developed at all, the social sciences will have to lead the way. These sciences include anthropology, psychology, economics, history, sociology, political science. All have made marked progress in recent years, but all have a frightening distance to go.

Take economics, for instance, the field with which I am most familiar. There is not now and never has been a genuine science of economics. Few economists have used the clinical approach which Dr. Mayo describes or done the kind of patient spade work which physical scientists practice. Read "The Voyage of the Beagle" to see how young Darwin prepared himself for his great generalizations. Economists mostly sit and think. The result has been guesswork, unverified hypothesis, and systems of involved verbalisms known as "laissez faire," "capitalism," "socialism," "communism," "social creditism," and other ologies and isms. The test of a genuine science is its power to make reliable predictions. At the present moment economists fail to agree whether the United States is in for a boom or a depression in the next year or two—thus painfully exhibiting the distance to be traveled before economics becomes a science. So the economists argue interminably, demolish one another's verbal structures with dispatch, and give society almost no help at a time when it is bitterly needed.

The two chief claimants for a science of economics travel under the labels of laissez faire and Marxian socialism. Obviously both cannot be true, for they contradict each other at almost every point. Dr. Mayo fails to find much validity in either of them. Laissez faire, he says, is founded on three basic postulates: (1) Human societies are governed by "natural laws" which man cannot alter. (2) When every individual seeks to serve his own interest, a harmony is established which cancels out the selfishness, coincides with natural law, and makes for a maximum of production and wealth. (3) The intervention of government is fatal to this harmonious equilibrium, and must be kept at the minimum necessary for maintaining law and order.

The man chiefly responsible for this extraordinary fabric was David Ricardo, and Dr. Mayo unravels it in an essay called The Rabble Hypothesis. Ricardo never observed the economic world the way Darwin observed South America. At fourteen he entered his father's brokerage house in London—probably the most remote post he could have found from which to observe real life. At twenty-one he married a certain Miss Wilkinson, apparently a lady of means, and retired to a country estate where he wrote his immortal "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation."

Ricardo had a few stray facts, and upon them his powerful logic erected a towering philosophical edifice, with little reference to what men actually did in the workaday world. Laissez faire was his dream baby. And for a century and more students in all the universities of Christendom have been drilled in this dream, and even expected to run their businesses—if they went into business—in accordance with it.

Dr. May quotes Chester I. Barnard, president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, who complained that he could find no treatise in economic literature which discussed organization as he had come to know it in his daily administrative work. Apparently no classical economist had ever *looked* at a business man to see what he was actually doing. Treatises which are supposed to discuss the matter, says Mr. Barnard, are entirely ignorant of the actualities of executive practice. Worse, the economists in their books do not even recognize the extreme importance of *organization* as the principal structural aspect of society itself.

Instead, society as seen by Ricardian economics consists of a horde of unorganized individuals acting in a manner logically calculated to serve the self-interest of each and thus by a curious alchemy called "natural law" achieving harmony for the whole. Dr. Mayo shows that the postulates have never been proved, that anthropologists have not discovered anything to be called "natural laws" in human societies, and that Ricardian economics "is a study of human behavior in non-normal situations, or, alternately, a study of non-normal behavior in ordinary situations. . . . If one observes either industrial workers or university students with sufficient care and continuity, one finds that the proportionate number activated by motives of self-interest logically elaborated is exceedingly small. They have relapsed upon self-interest only when social association has failed them."

There is no rabble of individuals in any known society.

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On the contrary we find tight clusters of groups. In one "Middletown" 899 separate organizations were observed, among 17,000 people. Most classical economic studies are upside down, says Dr. Mayo. They exhibit "an extensive pathology, but no physiology, an elaborate study of abnormal social determinants, none of the normal. . . . The rabble hypothesis will not bear a moment's inspection." The behavior of a group of workers in the bank wiring room at Hawthorne flatly contradicts the classical concept of "economic man." The informal organization of the group meant far more to its members than cash incentives. They wrecked the company bonus system which had been founded on sound Ricardian lines. Such contradictions between fact and classical theory are to be found in every factory.

Not only is the rabble hypothesis untenable, but its corollary, the omnipotent state, breaks down under first-hand examination. The "conception of an all-powerful state and a rabble of unrelated individuals is implied by economic theory, expressly stated by law and political science. It has given us a Mussolini and a Hitler and has confused the whole course of democratic politics."

Actually, Dr. Mayo shows, informal organizations are the heart and the reality of human communities. If they are functioning well, they will adjust the individual effectively to society and make a great state apparatus redundant. When they are functioning badly and the state tries to provide a pulmotor, the relief cannot be for long. The most efficient politician can hardly hope to keep a community going which has lost its internal organs. It is not statism we should fear so much as the destruction of our social skills. The real constructive task lies in replacing them.

We need a science of economics based on normal behavior, not pathology. We need a whole social science based on patient field observation rather than sitting at a desk and spinning theories out of one's stomach. In a word, we need about a thousand more Dr. Mayos.

Rumanian Rhapsody in a Minor Key

BY HAL LEHRMAN

A correspondent for The Nation *in the Mediterranean area*

Bucharest, April 19

THE best way to explain why "the new democratic Rumania" baffles explanation is to tell two short stories.

Gheorghe Macovescu is a pillar of the new regime, second man in the Propaganda Ministry, dispenser of the democratic gospel. He sets the tone for the pro-government press, sees to it that the newspapers go on fighting fascism every day in every way. Macovescu is an eloquent, indignant Communist. I know him, and we have spent many cordial hours discussing the Marxist road to Rumanian salvation. However, the newspaper *Dreptatea,* organ of the anti-government National Peasant Party, has recently published documents proving that Macovescu also set the tone for the press under the pro-fascist Antonescu regime, saw to it that the newspapers went on fighting Bolshevism every day in every way. More, he wrote signed articles—reproduced in facsimile by *Dreptatea*—hailing the German-Rumanian alliance. *Dreptatea* even displayed a photograph of Mascovescu in Germany as guest of the Third Reich, shaking hands heartily with a uniformed Nazi official.

Anton Mureseanu is a pillar of the opposition. Until the Foreign Ministers' pact at Moscow compelled the government to allow publication of opposition papers, Mureseanu in the independent *Ardealul* was the loudest champion of the opposition's demands for a free press and genuine democracy. The other day a provincial pro-government newspaper, *Inainte,* made an embarrassing typographical error. In an article assailing parasitical "rich young men," *domnisorul,* the word appeared as *domnitorul,* which means a "prince." This looked like an attack on the sacred person of popular young King Michael. In this topsy-turvy land even the Communists are arch-royalists. *Inainte* hastened to print a prominent editorial correction with apologies the following day and repeated it a day later. Nevertheless, three days after that, Mureseanu, spokesman for Rumanian "liberalism," wrote a violently anti-Semitic diatribe against the author of the unfortunate article, whose name, Sanft, betrayed his Jewish ancestry. "This stinking scribe," thundered Mureseanu, "who has only recently set foot in our country, is tolerated by Rumanian laws." It was a clumsy piece of Jew-baiting in the worst tradition of the old fascist regime.

The Groza government is loaded with ex-fascists. Constantin Burducea, who recently resigned as Minister of Religions, had been a high-ranking member of the pro-Nazi Iron Guard; he had the decoration of the *Buna Vestire,* which was awarded to only thirty-two Guardists. Gheorghe Tatarescu, as Premier, in 1940, abolished all political parties and signed a pact with the Germans for the Wehrmacht's entry into Rumania. He is not on the list of war criminals now; he is Groza's Vice-Premier. Michael Ralea, the present Minister of Arts, was one of King Carol's most ardent retainers; as Minister of Labor

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he welcomed his Nazi opposite number, Robert Ley, with a Hitler salute. Lotar Radaceanu, now Minister of Labor and a belligerent Social Democrat, was in Carol's totalitarian "Renaissance Front."

The Liberals, now in opposition, governed Rumania for most of the two decades between World War I and Carol's dictatorship. During this period the Communist and Socialist press and movements were outlawed, and a vigilant censorship was enforced. The National Peasants lifted censorship, but communism remained a crime. Neither the Liberals nor the National Peasants stirred when Goga, preparing the way for Carol's dictatorship, abolished the independent, progressive newspapers *Adeverul* and *Dimineata*. Both parties, when in power, staged corrupt elections. Under the National Peasants sitdown strikers were massacred by police. Under both regimes labor leaders were imprisoned for asking for better wages. (It is said, with much truth, that the four top leaders of the Rumanian Communist party—Bodnaras, Luca, Pauker, and Gheorghiu-Dej—were "invented" by today's opposition, which rescued them from obscurity by jailing them.)

"Every nation gets the politicians it deserves." Rumania has a compromised government and an unpalatable opposition because the people are like that, too. They fraternized like mad with the German troops. They now claim excessive credit for having turned against them. The rank and file of the Iron Guard rushed for refuge into the "democratic" parties and were accepted by all of them. The transport workers and the printers' union, now the shock troops of communism, faithfully operated fascist Rumania's military railways and printed Antonescu's pro-Nazi newspapers. Proletariat, peasants, bourgeoisie, and gentry were delighted to move into Jewish-owned property expropriated by Antonescu. Everybody seems to have forgotten now that Rumania was an Axis satellite. There is more food and better living here than in Britain, incomparably more than in Yugoslavia, but you would never guess it from the eternal grumbling against the "hardships of liberation." The old mentality and arrogance are returning. I sat as in a nightmare through a student meeting at Bucharest University at which speakers demanded that only "Rumanian born" be elected to office; the same youths acknowledged the applause with the Iron Guard salute. The scrawl "Down with the Jews!" is reappearing on university walls.

The Communists owe their present leading position solely to geography and the Red Army. They have no mass support; the bulk of their registered membership signed up because it was the smart or the *required* thing to do. As a matter of fact, the Communists did not exist at all before the war, even as an underground party. The government which they dominate is literally the creation of the Soviet Foreign Vice-Commissar, Andrei Vishinsky, Stalin's troubleshooter for Rumanian affairs. Ex-fascists and collaborators were welcomed as allies because the Communists had no trained personnel with which to govern the country. All the acts of this regime are in the name of democracy, but the "converted" democrats mentioned above care little about democratic procedures, the masses know less, and the few old Communists in the saddle, the only sincere radicals, cannot afford to risk more than a parody of civil liberties.

The primary fact in Rumanian politics is that Russia is here to stay, if not as an army of occupation, certainly as the dominant and all-pervading foreign influence. The anti-government parties are only half reconciled to this. They make public protestations of their eagerness to cooperate with "our great Russian liberators," but in private conversations they pray that the Americans and British will somehow drive away the Big Bad Bear. The Rumanian people are not even half reconciled. The traditional Latin distrust of Russia has grown into deep and sullen hate. Given a chance, Rumanians, except in the industrial centers, would vote overwhelmingly against the government. I have tested this in traveling through the provinces, and the attitude is manifest even in Bucharest. Maniu and Bratianu are confident that 80 per cent of the people are behind them.

On the surface the Moscow agreement has been serenely and democratically executed. The leading opposition papers have reemerged. Censorship has been substantially relaxed; its continued existence is excused officially as necessary to secure observance of the armistice—that is, you mustn't criticize the Russians. Since the censors no longer return proofs bearing a rejection stamp, no documentary evidence of censorship can be exhibited, but there are other ways to keep the press under leash. If an article is too disagreeable, the censor will hold the proof "for further study"—until it has been pondered into the news grave. (That is what happened to Secretary Byrnes's speech at the Overseas Press Club in which he used plain words about Russia. The wet proofs dried and yellowed under study at the censor's office, and nothing appeared in the "free" Rumanian press.) Or the composing-room workers may refuse to print "reactionary" articles for the independent or opposition newspapers which pay their wages. The government declines to ban this unofficial censorship on the ground that it cannot dictate to "the democratic conscience of free men."

Suppression of an occasional article, however, is but a picayune way to fight fascism. Much more effective is the government's continued control of newsprint distribution. *Dreptatea* is the paper most in demand in Rumania today. Its exposés of government foibles make delightful reading for a public bored by unremitting praise of Petru Groza. Yet *Dreptatea* gets only five spools of newsprint daily, scarcely enough for 50,000

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copies, when it could easily sell 200,000 copies. *Scanteia,* the Communist organ, gets twenty-two spools. The editors of the independent *Jurnalul* and *Semnalul* have complained to me that a newsprint shortage mysteriously develops when they become over-critical of the regime.

The Moscow agreement also stipulated that there should be freedom of assembly and political activity. Where foreign correspondents are likely to turn up, within perhaps a day's radius of the capital, there has been little overt interference with opposition meetings. But in remote Arpad, National Peasant headquarters were given the crowbar treatment by a political strong-arm squad; and seven local leaders sustained various injuries, including one fractured skull.

The ostensible purpose of the Moscow agreement was to assure free, democratic elections. Washington and London based their subsequent recognition of Groza on the promise of them. The opposition is resolutely campaigning as if it expected free elections to be held, and the government is solemnly pledged to hold them. But nobody seriously believes in the possibility.

In the first place, there has never been a free election in Rumanian history. All the political old-timers admit, with a kind of melancholy grin, that at one time or another they have had a hand in "fixing" an election. The slowness with which the election law has emerged from government councils is commonly explained by the need to arrange some loopholes which would permit fixing to go on. Teohari Georgescu complacently assured me that the Liberals and National Peasants combined would not get more than 20 per cent of the vote. Georgescu, as Minister of the Interior, directs the police. He ought to know.

The second and more important reason why free elections are not expected is that they would return a potentially anti-Soviet government—which would not be tolerated. The Russians would regard a triumph for the parties in which the "reaction" is concentrated as defiance, and the repercussions would be disastrous for Rumanian sovereignty.

The fact that temperate oppositionists know the Russian state of mind encourages the belief that the example set in Hungary may be followed here, that is, that all factions may form a pre-electoral pact for a coalition government with Cabinet portfolios evenly distributed. The country could then proceed to elections in tranquillity, knowing the results would make no difference in the preordained structure of the new government. This proposal is certainly not democratic, as we understand the word, but it has the virtue of being practical in an otherwise hopeless situation. The United States and Britain are committed to obtaining free elections. The Soviets are determined to have a friendly government. The two objectives are mutually exclusive unless a deal is made beforehand. How long such a government would hold together is, of course, another question.

In the Wind

WE ARE EAGERLY AWAITING the arrival of a volume called "Much in Little," a book about the United States navy. A letter announcing its publication advises us that the text is illustrated with eighty-eight "authentic pictures, beginning with Noah's Ark."

OUR WARLIKE CONTEMPORARIES: A slick-paper bulletin called *Better Castings,* published by the Niagara Falls Smelting and Refining Corporation, features in its April issue an editorial entitled Now Is the Time. It propounds: "World War No. 3 is already brewing. As I said four years ago we would probably end up fighting Russia, with Germany one of our allies. . . . We must get tough now. . . . Russia is largely bluff. She is not ready to fight a big war yet; neither are we, but our potential power both on sea and in productive ability is stronger, and she knows it. Now is the time to show our might."

A DENVER CORRESPONDENT reports that up until Monday, April 8, the Denver *Post* was still, according to the slogan placed on its back page many years ago by its founder Fred Bonfils, "dedicated in perpetuity to the service of the people that no good cause shall lack a champion and that evil shall not thrive unopposed." Those days, however, are gone. On April 9 that slogan was replaced with one which simply proclaims the *Post* the "Voice of the Rocky Mountain Empire."

THESE TROUBLED TIMES: Indiana's Lieutenant Governor Richard James took to the radio recently to urge that hereafter Hoosiers stand whenever the band plays "On the Banks of the Wabash" or "Back Home Again in Indiana." "These songs are second only to 'The Star-Spangled Banner' and 'America,'" declared Mr. James.

A NEWCOMER to the comic-magazine field is the *Challenger,* published by the Interfaith Committee of the Protestant Digest. Format and contents are just like those of the standard adventure-strip comic books, but the sequences are all pointed "to fight race prejudice, discrimination, and all other forms of fascism in North America."

AND THAT REMINDS US—we have at hand an application blank for membership in the American Automobile Association which includes the line: "Member of. . . . . race."

HEADLINE in an Indiana newspaper: "Coal Strike Squelched—Miners Resting Peacefully After Parley." But breathing heavily, we presume.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK: Representative Hugh DeLacy, of Washington, on the OPA bill as "amended" by the House: "The true title of this act should be the 'Let the People Eat Cake Act of 1946.'"

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Bread and Gold

GOLD-MINING stocks are booming in Johannesburg and London just because a three-and-a-half-pound sample of ore—the core from a diamond drill in an experimental borehold on the High Veld of the Orange Free State—proved on analysis to contain gold worth $3.60 cents. That sounds picayune, but it has sufficed to add millions of dollars to the market value of the company on whose property the strike was made and started speculators bidding frantically for the shares of all concerns remotely interested in the territory. For the assay of this sample corresponds to a gold content of 62½ ounces per ton, which is 250 times richer than the average grade of Rand ore. If this is a true indication of the composition of the whole underlying orebody, it means that a new and richer extension of the fabulous Witwatersrand reef has been found; if it is a fluke, a strike on a localized pocket, a lot of people are going to lose their shirts. More diamond drilling may tend to confirm the discovery, but only the sinking of a shaft and extensive underground development will afford any final proof that today's gamble is tomorrow's investment.

Whether or not the boom justifies itself eventually in Stock Exchange terms, from the point of view of current economic needs it seems to me entirely deplorable. There is nothing the world needs less at the present time than an enlargement of its gold supply. David Low as usual has summed up the situation brilliantly in a cartoon which would have appeared in *The Nation* had not the New York *Times* achieved a Low monopoly. It shows an ecstatic miner holding up a lump of rock and shouting "Look! Gold!" while a stooping, wasted figure, tugging at a shriveled blade of wheat, replies: "Is that all? I thought you had found a loaf of bread."

The golden land of South Africa is one of the current victims of food shortage. In some districts famine conditions are reported, with men eating grass and bark and grubbing for roots. Does the promise of more gold offer hope for the hungry? On the contrary. The Orange Free State discovery was made in the midst of the best corn land in the Union of South Africa. If a new goldfield is developed there, much of this land will be lost to food production. Already farmers are being offered more money for their acreage than they could ever hope to make from corn.

The gold boom also threatens a diversion of labor from the land to the mines. Recruiting agents in the native reservations may, indeed, find the spur of hunger a great aid, for though cash wages are extremely low—a native worker earns about one-seventh of a white man's pay—the mine owners at least supply food. But this food must be raised by the diminished population remaining in the villages or imported. And in these days even those nations with abundant gold are finding that they cannot swap it for food. South Africa's Midas touch cannot charm away hunger.

Another point to be considered is the effect of a gold boom on the world supply of capital goods. Destruction and depreciation during the war has created a universal demand for construction materials and new machinery. Everywhere recovery is being hindered by the difficulty of acquiring new equipment, and it may be years before even urgent needs are satisfied. A boom in gold-mining means the entry of a competitor with an exceptionally long purse into an already overcrowded market. Under present circumstances, in so far as the mining companies are successful in obtaining steel, cement, tools, and machinery, other customers will have to wait. That means an increase in the potential supply of gold at the expense of an increase in the potential supply of textiles, houses, and transportation.

During the war gold mines were given a very low priority for materials and labor: many were shut down altogether, for it was recognized that they could not make any contribution to victory. But with the return of peace we are getting back to the system in which priorities are determined on the basis, not of need, but of potential profit. And no one can deny that the South African goldfields have created profits on a magnificent scale even if their contribution to the real wealth of the world is questionable.

In a period of universal scarcity such as we are now enduring, gold-mining is sheer economic waste since it absorbs resources which could be otherwise employed for the production of necessities. In times of depression, when men and capital are idle, it has a genuine function in a capitalist world as a thoroughly respectable form of boondoggling. The rise in the price of gold which followed the depreciation of the pound and dollar in the early thirties was equivalent to the discovery of an enormous new gold deposit since it made possible the profitable exploitation of previously neglected low-grade ores. It set off a mining investment boom in many countries which helped recovery by increasing the flow of purchasing power and so adding to employment.

Of course any other form of new investment—a massive housing program, for instance—would have produced the same multiplier effect on employment, but as the late lamented Lord Keynes has so wittily written:

> Just as wars have been the only form of large-scale loan expenditure which statesmen have thought justifiable, so gold-mining is the only pretext for digging holes in the ground which has recommended itself to bankers as sound finance; and each of these activities has played its part in progress—failing something better. . . . Gold-mining is for two reasons a highly practical form of investment if we are precluded from increasing employment by means which at the same time increase our stock of useful wealth. In the first place, owing to the gambling attractions which it offers it is carried on without too close a regard to the ruling rate of interest. In the second place, the result, namely, the increased stock of gold, does not, as in other cases, have the effect of diminishing its marginal utility.*

Today, when throughout the world there is an acute shortage of all forms of useful wealth, the last thing we need is a shot of gold to stimulate circulation. Five years hence we may be glad of it, but now, when people are crying for bread, we mock their sufferings by offering them nuggets.

KEITH HUTCHISON

* "The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money," p. 130.

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THE POOR YOUNG ART OF RADIO

BY MILDRED ADAMS

ANOTHER radio writer has joined Norman Corwin and Arch Oboler in the more exalted medium of print. Millard Lampell, author of scripts first used on an official Army Air Forces program, now offers fourteen of his radio playlets to the reading public. No better illustration of the underlying sickness that besets radio writers has appeared for a long time. Mr. Lampell does not venture forth on his own merits, or on those of his scripts. He is protected by a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, and a well-known poet, all of whom write separate forewords emphasizing the book's message.

Its contents are apparently to be taken as tracts, and you, I, the men portrayed, the folks back home, and "the most prejudiced and most troglodytic orators in the halls of Congress" all ought to read them. The poet's foreword contains six "oughts," one "should," and the final plea—"This is a book that has a big heart in it and a strong purpose. Please read it. . . ." You may pay $2.50 for the privilege, and the royalties will go to the Committee for Air Forces Convalescent Welfare.

It is not my intention to criticize Mr. Lampell, his scripts, or the familiar radio mixture of bathos and sales appeal decked out as public service which appears within the covers of his book. Far more important are the questions that the scripts raise—questions that appear with increasing frequency as more and more radio material makes its way into print. Why has radio writing so little claim to any real literary merit? Can anything be done about it? Or are conditions of the industry such that radio writers must, as craftsmen, content themselves with developing skill in a bastard form of expression which lies somewhat between vaudeville, sermon, newspaper, and advertising patter? Has the radio writer who hopes to attain greater distinction any chance, or is he doomed before he starts?

In attempting to answer questions of this sort one must look first at the special requirements of the radio writer's job and then at the conditions imposed by the industry which employs him. For instance, it cannot be said too often that radio is an auditory medium. So, of course, is the theater. But the radio writer who turns out plays does by no means the only type of writing which the industry needs. News programs, comment, "talks," announcements, the yards of disparate material woven together which come under the head of continuity—all this must be written too, and in such form that it will sound like the spoken word. Radio writing is done not for the eye but for the ear: what the eye enjoys is likely to be bad radio writing. Only the writer who has tried to write for both organs knows how different are the techniques that each demands.

Of course, both the playwright and the preacher share this difficulty. But at least the playwright and the preacher have time to prepare their products; the radio writer has not. Lope de Vega, who turned out fifteen hundred plays in a full lifetime, was a gentleman of leisure compared to an experienced radio dramatist. A play a week is by no means unusual, even among free-lance writers who may have no other spur than the wish to eat. Serial writers on contract—and this is where the money is—usually exceed this rate. A popular series may appear every day, and script for it must click off the writer's fingertips no matter how thin his inspiration or how tired his mind. Two famous women turn out three serial plays in a day, and one legendary couple is said to produce twelve daytime serials each twenty-four hours.

In the process writers develop extraordinary facility, efficiency, and power of concentration, but at a price. They have no time in which to polish, to perfect, or even to consider. Radio is a Moloch into which its slaves must pour a ceaseless stream of words. Eric Barnouw, writing in 1933, estimated that across the nation some seventeen thousand different radio programs appeared each day, and that together they demanded some twenty million words. Such circumstances go far to explain the clichés, the stupid dialogue, the repetition, the standard plots and stereotyped characters, the long-drawn-out and thinly developed incidents which are causes of complaint from intelligent listeners.

If speed, quantity, and time pressure are primary handicaps, they are by no means the only ones. The radio writer must work fast, but it does not follow that he can work freely. At all times he is in the position of a sprinter forced to run in hobbles. He must please the sponsor, the network executives, the legal department, the script editor, the director, the actor, the Federal Communications Commission, and last but by no means least the sharp-eared public. He cannot take a political stand, cannot offend pressure groups, cannot openly display an editorial point of view. He must, for at least one major network, avoid a list of clichés which have come to be potential sources of ridicule. If he writes continuities—and the ability to write good continuity is even more popular with harassed network editors than the ability to write good comedy—he must be endlessly inventive in different ways of saying the same thing. Yet he should not be baroque, or difficult, or precious, or over-poetic. At all times he is supposed to keep to the level of popular expression and understanding, which is, in printed terms, somewhere between the *Reader's Digest*, the pulps, and the comics.

Once he learns to move with ease and speed among these hazards, the radio writer may hope to be accepted by his fellow-craftsmen and regarded with mingled awe and deri-

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sion by his friends in other fields. Radio may have a lowbrow air, but it also has the reputation of paying too well to be scorned even by highbrows. To the great public it is a "glamour trade," and it is able to capitalize on this reputation in the hiring of ambitious young people at salaries low enough to make possible the fat figures paid at the top.

But, as in other glamour trades, reputations in radio have the texture and endurance of soap bubbles. Unless he is regularly employed on a network staff the radio writer can hope neither for steady income nor for sure employment. Even the most successful contract writers are subject to slumps in popularity. Their employers are constantly seeking something new; their audiences are fickle and forgetful. As a rule the writer gets less advertising, and is consequently less well known, than either the star or the product. What he writes goes forth on the wind, and most of it has no more permanent form than the mimeographed copy which the company files to save itself from argument.

A few radio plays—perhaps one-hundredth of one per cent of those written—make their way into print. So far, only a few of those have been considered worth serious literary criticism. And this is not surprising, for radio writing, not meant to be seen, should not be expected to meet standards set for work in other format. A more appropriate form of immortality has been invented but is seldom used. The tragedy for the ambitious radio author is not that so few radio plays are printed, but that even the best of them are seldom made available to their ear-minded public by way of recordings. The fact that there has not yet been enough demand for such recordings to overcome legalistic hazards and company inertia is perhaps the severest criticism of the present quality of radio writing.

These are some of the hurdles of the craft. Suppose that a writer, greatly endowed with patience, health, energy, enthusiasm, and skill, does manage to overcome them. He must then face the steepest barrier of all—the schizophrenic character of the industry.

Radio's personality is not only split but segmented, and its writers grow wall-eyed from looking not two but a dozen ways at once. However warmly the idealists within its fold extol its virtues as a public-service medium, however loudly its loyal apologists proclaim its high mission as a source of free public amusement and instruction, the fact remains that radio is basically a business. Its prime purpose is to make money for its owners, and it does it in a curiously devious fashion. It is an industry which sends its product into seventy million American homes, but the dwellers in those homes neither pay directly for the product nor exercise more than a remote and negative control over its quality. The price of the product is met by manufacturers of soap powders, dentifrices, patent medicines, automobiles, crematoria, macaroni. Logically, the air time which the manufacturers buy should be spent entirely in advertising their wares. But since the public will not listen long to unadulterated advertising, it is wrapped in envelopes of sanctified illusion marked "entertainment," "education," and so on.

The competition among radio companies to introduce this advertising into the American home is so great that the government has found it necessary to set up a policing and standard-making agency. The FCC demands that the radio industry devote a certain small proportion of its time to public-service programs presented without benefit of advertising sponsors, and it has recently been pressing that demand, for the war and a post-war combination of prosperity and newsprint scarcity have sent a flock of new advertisers swarming to the radio, until sustaining programs have been crowded almost out of existence.

But even at best the sustaining programs give scant opportunity for the development of a real and expressive literature. They are subject to most of the pressures, speeds, and limitations that hedge about commercial programs, and in addition they suffer from the handicap of less money to work with. They do not pay except in prestige, and the key for counting in prestige as part of income was long ago lost from calculating machines.

This hard core of business pressure is so insistent that the radio executive who manages to keep it in check, to balance it fairly against the need for first-rate non-commercial programs, is the notable exception.

The writer knows all this, or very soon learns it. He may try to forget it, or he may bend his talents to exploiting it for his own benefit. He never succeeds in escaping its implications and the air of cynicism that hangs about the whole process. No matter how pure his motives, how deep his allegiance to ideals, how exalted his ambition, he must—if he is to stay in radio—always pull himself back to the demands of an industry which pretends to serve the public while primarily serving the advertiser.

Of the frustration and repression induced in radio writers by such forces and limitations, only a psychiatrist could speak. It is perhaps not surprising that the incidence of stomach ulcers in the trade should be so great. It would be miraculous if a writer of genuine literary distinction did emerge from this complex of cross-purposes and conflicting interests. There are hardy and talented men who still think it is possible that radio is a young "art," and that out of its speed and clamor will come something more distinguished that the mixture of curry and molasses which is modern radio-ese. So far, the miracle has not occurred.

The Shako

(*After Rilke*)

Night and its muffled creakings, as the wheels
Of Blücher's caissons circle with the clock;
He lifts his eyes and drums until he feels
The clavier shudder and allows the rock
And Scylla of her eyes to fix his face:
It is as though he looks into a glass
Reflecting on this guilty breathing-space
His terror and the salvoes of the brass
From Brandenburg. She moves away. Instead,
Wearily by the broken altar, Abel
Remembers how the brothers fell apart
And hears the friendless hacking of his heart,
And strangely foreign on the mirror-table
Leans the black shako with its white death's-head.

ROBERT LOWELL

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Guilt and Germany

EXPERIMENT IN GERMANY. The Story of an American Intelligence Officer. By Saul K. Padover. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.75.

AMERICA'S GERMANY. An Account of the Occupation. By Julian Bach, Jr. Random House. $3.

AS a member of the Psychological Warfare Division Dr. Padover followed the victorious armies from the Normandy beachhead through France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany to the memorable little town of Torgau. His task was to study the German mind. He spoke to Nazis and anti-Nazis, workers and industrialists, old and young, priests and laymen. He tried hard to be just; he looked particularly for "the righteous men in Germany who cried out in wrath against injustice and cruelty." But he left the country deeply pessimistic, gripped by "a sudden and painful allergy" to the Germans in general. To be sure, he found many Social Democrats, Communists, and other people who had never joined the Nazi Party. Yet he did not have much admiration for them. They did not revolt; they seemed old, tired, and disgusted. He was unable to discover any signs of resistance, although a Centrist loosely connected with the Gördeler circle led him to believe that the cabal "apparently had wide ramifications." He was not impressed with the attitude even of those who had been imprisoned for many years in Hitler's concentration camps: they seemed to him to lack a manly revolutionary spirit. A German Communist inmate of the Buchenwald concentration camp, a "K. Z." for twelve years, struck him only as too *ordentlich,* too much concerned with maintaining some sort of order even after the Americans had arrived.

I have had similar experiences in Germany; in most instances I cannot but indorse Dr. Padover's findings, although I met many more people who impressed me as truly brave and courageous under the conditions prevailing in Hitler Germany. Men and women released from concentration camps after ten to twelve years of physical and mental torture craved, with an amazing energy, to do something by which to redeem themselves and their country. Organized opposition went far beyond the clenching of fists in the pockets in cities like Munich, Leipzig, or Halle—Halle, as is well known by now, was spared from a last destructive American assault by the courageous action of the Anti-Fascist Committee, which forced the unconditional surrender of the city. At Buchenwald, it would have been proper to recall, German political prisoners had, in spite of enormous risks and perils, organized a secret militia, smuggled weapons into the camps, and finally attacked the S. S. guards and freed the camp, just before its liberation by our troops.

"Experiment in Germany" claims to be a study of the German mind, and as such is rather unsatisfactory. Beyond the mere reports on people's attitudes and reactions, which are valuable and exciting raw material for a serious study, rises the question of the underlying causes. Why was there no widespread resistance in Germany? Why did so many people whine in self-pity? Just because it is in the German character to do so? Dr. Padover could hardly venture such a naive explanation. As a matter of fact, why was there no revolt of twelve million slave laborers? The French struck him as particularly tired and orderly; all they wanted was to return as quickly as possible to their wives and their beautiful country. Padover disgustedly compares them with the heroes of the *maquis.*

It is strange that the trained P. W. D. officer neither noticed nor tried to explain this symptomatic similarity of behavior of both the German anti-Nazis and the anti-fascist foreigners in the Third Reich. He thus missed the clue that is essential if we are to solve the riddle of the German mind. The same conditions produced the same reactions. Hitler's systematic and brutal smashing of even the smallest form of independent organization that might relieve the individual's feeling of total isolation; his ruthless arresting, interning, and killing of anyone who dared to oppose his regime by so much as a free thought; his scientific spreading of anxiety and terror until the individual felt that he stood alone and powerless against an all-knowing, ever-present, omnipotent foe—all this paralyzed Germans and foreigners alike. In France the French would have joined the *maquis;* in Germany they were quiet and orderly. This was true of all the other nationalities—in Germany. When asked—as Padover, with serene innocence, asked the German anti-Nazis—why they did not defy Hitler, they could only mutter, "What could we do?" Padover's repeated comparisons of Germany with Norway, France, Belgium, and other countries miss the point altogether because they disregard the entirely different conditions. It is not a question of national character; it is a question of a system, of human nature itself.

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If we rely on such snap moral judgments we shall be unable either to understand or to cure.

Padover's misunderstanding of the core of the problem—that mentally the Germans are a product of twelve years of scientific terror, of a policy of atomization which made the individual feel utterly isolated, abandoned, supervised, and helpless, and that in such an atmosphere mass revolts and heroism could hardly thrive—makes it impossible for him to appreciate in their real significance the few hopeful factors that exist at present. Consequently, his positive recommendations seem lame and unconvincing: "What hope there is for a democratic, a decent future of Germany lies in these men [that is, Social Democrats, Communists, Left Centrists], these old, weak-kneed, soft-willed men."

"America's Germany" in spite of some smug journalistic formulations and some easy and debatable generalizations, is a serious and thorough book. Although the author does not like anything in Germany except the Autobahns and the Bavarian Alps, and respects "nothing at all, including the Autobahns," he says that "there is a difference between feeling sympathy and facing the facts. The facts of life in Germany are grim. It is our responsibility now to understand them." Conscious of this responsibility, he attempts to dispel many deliberate lies about Germany and the American occupation, and in simple and direct language discusses the enormous problems that face the German people and hence the Americans—the destruction of cities, the appalling food situation, the paralysis of industry, and the lack of any adequate personnel for reeducation. The Germans "are not in good moral shape"; neither are they "in good physical shape." It is our responsibility to help them get in shape—morally, by educating them and by giving them some hope for the future; physically, by giving them a chance to live, work, and produce. The Morgenthau plan cannot achieve that goal, as Mr. Bach ably demonstrates, unless America is willing to feed twenty million Germans for an indefinite period or else to starve them to death. Yet it is doubtful that the problem can be solved by the advocated internationalization of the industrial Ruhr, on the basis of the production quota permitted in 1932. Such a plan would perpetuate the pre-Hitler crisis which swept National Socialism into power.

By and large, according to Bach, American occupation authorities have done quite well; but in one respect we have failed altogether—we have not yet succeeded in convincing the Germans of their collective guilt. He disposes of the problem with an off-hand "getting seventy million people to go around saying, 'I am a German, I am a criminal,' would be a miracle."

But in reality not only the Communists, whose "keener sense of responsibility" wins from Bach patronizing praise, are willing to recognize collective responsibility. A conference of high Protestant church dignitaries has acknowledged guilt; so has Pastor Niemöller in his lecture to the Erlangen University students; so have many articles in German newspapers published in the American zone. It is true that many anti-Nazi Germans who have never ceased to oppose Hitler and who have suffered for their convictions fail to see why they should feel any more guilty for the war and the crimes of the Nazis than persons in the rest of the world who, up to the bitter end, thought it was perfectly all right to do business with Hitler. In all fairness, is it so difficult to see their point?

Bach says that so far the Werewolf has not proved either a danger or a nuisance to our occupation troops; but it would have been advisable to indicate the undeniable chances of a possible Nazi underground movement, especially in connection with the returning young prisoners of war, whose ideological development usually has not kept pace with that of the mass of their compatriots who experienced war and defeat in their homeland. They are latent material for a revivified Nazi movement and need careful watching. But it is certainly true that, as Bach believes with more optimism than Padover, the hope for a democratic Germany rests with the working class. Consequently it is necessary to discuss the relationship of the two German labor parties. The German Communists act, of course, on behalf of the Soviet Union when they insist on merging the two parties immediately, in both the eastern and western zones. Russia has understood better than the other three occupation powers that having a firm grip on a unified and dependent labor party means having a tentative hold on the future of the whole of Germany. And the future of Germany might decide the future of the European continent.

Despite some minor mistakes and the indicated shortcomings, both "Experiment in Germany" and "America's Germany" are good and necessary books, and should be recommended as honest attempts to give as dispassionate an account as possible of the German problem in all its intricacy.

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The Process and Reality of France

FRANCE—A SHORT HISTORY. By Albert Guérard. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

ALBERT GUERARD has succeeded admirably in a most difficult task. His short history of France is both stimulating and sound, dense and leisurely, brilliantly written—the sprightly narrative and thoughtful essay of the born historian, of one who has spent a lifetime studying his native land.

His chief aim is "to present that very active reality, the France of today, as it was slowly created by the obstinate will of the centuries." A wise and witty guide, he follows the stream of history, at each fork pointing out changing vistas but always stressing the continuity, the purposeful unfolding of events. The Origins of France, the Middle Ages, the Classical Age, the Bourgeois Liberal Revolution, and Modern France appear as units, but each unit is part of a whole. History is made alive by sharp sketches, *bons mots*, significant episodes, penetrating comments.

Thus after dismissing the "lurid legend" and the "golden legend" of the Middle Ages, Mr. Guérard gives the period its proper place in the process of evolution: "There is hardly a puzzling trait of medieval psychology that is not found in the children of today. Trust and effusive affection, with streaks of cruelty, selfishness, violence; vagueness in essentials coupled with painful literalness and formalism; implicit faith in authority with outbursts of fierce rebellion; and, above all, no capacity, no desire to draw a sharp line between sober fact and make-believe." The balance is shrewdly kept between the economic and social and the intellectual factors of evolution. If, in the eighteenth century, the essential factor was the increasing force of the money-making class, new ideas played the part of "signposts and traffic rules" and accelerated the process of change. Throughout the nineteenth century the three-cornered contest between aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and people was duplicated in the realm of ideas and largely influenced by the competing ideologies.

In the perspective of many centuries the author's optimism concerning France's future seems justified. Even decadence—for the French a sophisticated paradox that is taken too literally by foreigners—appears as a moment in the process of growth, as a factor of progress: "There was decadence in the Dark Ages; but the magnificent medieval synthesis was being prepared. There was a decadence of the feudal age in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but it was the seedling time of the Renaissance. There was a decadence of Bourbon absolutism under Louis XV; but it was also the Enlightenment, dispelling chaos. There has been in our lifetime a decadence of that sturdy if unlovely conception of life called bourgeois liberalism. It is being dissolved into something incomparably richer."

What makes this book so satisfying is, more than its intelligence, balance, or wit, the patriotic flame that lights it throughout. It is a profession of faith. But Albert Guérard's patriotism is the very antithesis of nationalism. France is "not to be identified with a race, a climate, or a set of institutions." It is both a symbol and a guardian of human values. Lanfrey's remark on the unprejudiced historian applies well to Professor Guérard: "His patriotism is simply love of truth. He is not a man of any particular race or of any particular country. He is a citizen of all countries, and he speaks in the name of all civilizations." Albert Guérard speaks in the name of Western civilization, of which France was and is the laboratory and the outpost, "the most alert of the watchmen." She has played and still has to play a major part in the growth of human culture. "France is a collective and age-long striving for human values. She is most French when she is most universal. For her the world commonwealth of tomorrow will mean not abdication but fulfilment."

CHARLES A. MICAUD

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Ideals and Purposes

RALPH BARTON PERRY'S THESIS in "One World in the Making" (Current Books, $3), the need for "a morally unified mankind on a physically unified earth," is one of those facile formulations philosophers enjoy. Like so much philosophy, it is a belated attempt to reunite things that ought not to have been separated in the first place, in this case morality and the needs and purposes it is required to serve; the sterility of philosophy consists in the very considerable extent to which it is a correction, with no empirical increment, of its previous mistakes. This is a self-consuming enterprise, and Professor Perry is sufficiently steeped in his subject to be

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aware of its limitations. His wisdom is attested, possibly, by the fact that he is not embarrassed by them.

Yet it is wisdom that this book really lacks. Wisdom is not the ability to formulate ideals but to apply them, for in applying them some reasonable claim is always abrogated. The condition of integrity tends to be aloofness, or inaction, as the revival of various philosophies of quietism has recently reminded us. Professor Perry refuses in this volume to grapple with the obvious fact that ideals are right, or acceptable, in proportion as they are vague. The vagueness of his argument is an aspect of its cogency. The book is a compendium of platitudes to the effect that unity must be built on justice, justice on disinterestedness, and federation on a certain degree of cultural uniformity. What degree? And how is it to be attained?

The book raises the whole tragic question of the relation of human purpose to human destiny. One of the most discouraging things about behavior is that it is often self-defeating in proportion as it is purposeful. Culture in the most general and therefore most significant sense is obviously an involuntary achievement. The core of culture is sensibility, and the modern sensibility thrives on disunity, on conflict, irony, relativism, anxiety. In that sense it is a true index of our competitive society, for irony is the emotion of people who are trying rather to outdo each other than to excel. In any case, Professor Perry's commendable determination to be idealistic at all costs makes one wonder whether the highest and most significant human ideals aren't the least optimistic ones.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

Problems in Palestine

IN RECENT YEARS THERE have been a number of good books on the Palestine problem, one of which, Dr. Lowdermilk's "Palestine, Land of Promise" (1944), contained an able and optimistic discussion of agricultural achievements and potentials. The layman, however, has been ill provided with competent literature on other economic elements which are of equal if not greater importance. Nor has there been available any able, politically sophisticated survey of the whole system of Palestinian economy. That is now provided in "Palestine, Problem and Promise," by Robert R. Nathan, Oscar Gass, and Daniel Creamer (Public Affairs Press, $5), of which Part II contains a thoroughly documented analysis under the headings of Agriculture, Transport, Manufactures, International Trade, Labor Organ-

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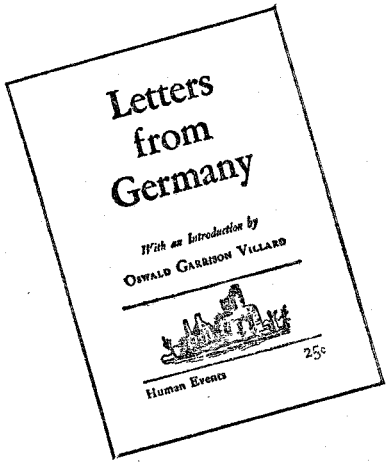

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ization, Finance, Housing and Water, Fuel and Power. Part III, Palestine in the Next Decade, does not present a blueprint of the future society but attempts to define perspectives, particularly as they are restricted by the potentials of immigration. This impressive discussion is realistic, sophisticated, and entirely free from political illusion. It is clear that governmental policies, not natural resources, will be the limiting factors in the next decade. The authors of the book are Zionists, but at no point does their conviction distort their analyses.

RALPH BATES

The Plain Man's Plain Solution

"AS A PATRIOT and as a business man, I believe it good common sense for the nations of Europe to take a leaf out of our book of brotherhood and do business with each other, instead of warring one against the other." Of course it is. The great merit of David Silberman's little book, "A United Europe—or Else!" (Richard R. Smith, $2), is its perfect modesty. It is written "for the small people of the world" by one who, although educated and successful, is not ashamed of our common humanity. The plain man knows the plain solution, and so does the sage: John Doe is at one with William Penn, Kant, and Victor Hugo. Blake urged us "not to be connoisseured out of our senses." We the people should not allow ourselves to be bluffed by the sophisticates who think it smart to follow Richelieu, Metternich, Talleyrand, Bismarck, and Disraeli. "Our destiny," says David Silberman, "is in our hands. The leaders *we* choose will determine whether war or peace is to be our perpetual fate." Surely it cannot be realistic to keep doing what is manifestly absurd. For the people David Silberman wants to reach, this is a very lucid presentation of a crucial problem. For those who claim to direct our thoughts and actions, it is a useful document. They are our leaders: it is about time they should follow us; and Silberman points to the inevitable way.

ALBERT GUERARD

A Brazilian Inventory

T. LYNN SMITH, in "Brazil: People and Institutions" (Louisiana State University Press, $6.50), provides the fullest sociological and economic survey of the South American republic yet published in convenient one-volume form. It exceeds in scope and statistical detail the Brazilian section of Preston E. James's "Latin America" (now reissued as a separate book), and while lacking the critical or speculative value of Morris L. Cook's "Brazil on the March," Vera Kelsey's "Seven Keys to Brazil," or Gilberto Freyre's more wishfully abstract "Brazil: an Interpretation," all of which were directed toward political and economic recommendations, it provides the fuller facts on which such recommendations must be based by whoever cares to render them seriously effective. Dr. Smith has written mainly a book of reference. Its chapters fall into divisions devoted to Cultural Diversity, The People, Levels and Standards of Living, Relations of the People to the Land, and Institutions. He presents his method as empirical. He spent a month in Brazil in 1939 and a year in 1942-43. His seventy pages of diary, as studiously impersonal as the severest methodology could desire, indicate the technical spirit of his research and findings.

That he was prepared for the realities of human and social maladjustment in his subject—and thus for problems of urgent national and international importance—is implied by his using as a prefatory index of "serious shortcomings in Brazilian society" the twenty-seven "unfavorable realities" defined by Teixeira de Freitas in the *Revista Nacional de Educaçao* in 1934. These range from "excessive dispersion of population," "moral regression," "the lack, sufficiently general, of urban hygiene," "extreme misery among a part of the agricultural proletariat," and illiteracy among the mass of rural and urban population, through such persistent handicaps as "great confusion in weights and measures," "deficient means of communication and transportation," and "lack of the most rudimentary knowledge of practical life among most social classes," to "the injurious development of gambling," "blind, wasteful . . . devastation of the forests," "frequent . . . outbreaks of banditry," "the worst sanitary conditions in some zones," and "the exercise with impunity, in all parts, of the pernicious quackery of fetish doctors and charlatans." This index offers a wide range of opportunity to legal, economic, and social reformers, and to their necessary if chronically discouraged instruments, the enlightened political minority. Neither twelve years of the Estado Novo of Vargas nor the influx of Good Neighbor money and techniques have materially reduced Teixeira's "realities" or the need of the most persistent attention to their potential dangers. Dr. Smith's scanty treatment of education may be justified on the score of existing facilities but not by existing needs, though here, admittedly, temperamental, psychological, and traditional factors with which his method is unprepared to cope would be involved in fruitful research.

His "conclusion" occupies only 7 of his 800 pages. Too brief to be anything but suggestive, it is valuable in what it says on "cultural lag," on needed changes in agrarian, immigration, and hygienic policies, and on necessary reforms in landholding, property tenure, social legislation, and trade and municipal systems. He is sound when he says that "Brazil would be wise to double, double again, and then redouble the number of students it is sending to study in foreign universities," though here one must correct his preference of "scientific training" to "training in the humanities," the latter being nowhere so necessary as where the former combines the lure of novelty with the chance of reckless commercial exploitation. But in these few pages Dr. Smith adds to his monumental encyclopedia of facts a clue to some of the measures for "valorizing its people" whereby the physically largest among the American republics might bring its size into some favorable ratio to its nationalistic ambitions, its latent potentialities, and its importance to the economic and military strategy of the Western Hemisphere.

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

GAUGUIN ranks with Cézanne and Van Gogh as a founding father of modern art. But the sharpness of his break with impressionism, like that of the other two masters, can be exaggerated. In his epoch-making "Déjeuner sur l'Herbe" Manet anticipates what Gauguin only isolates and emphasizes: the large, sharply silhouetted areas of flat, uniform color, the abrupt contrasts of hue, the suppression of accidents of light or detail, the simplified, open rhythms. It remained only for atmospheric impressionism to release the bright, silky color by which Gauguin most particularly proves himself a genius.

Granted to the full his genius, his revolutionary accomplishment, and the major influence he exerted on later painters—these still do not suffice to make Gauguin a great artist. As, during the last few decades, we have recovered from the first pleasurable shock of frankly decorative painting, Gauguin's reputation has suffered a decline—a decline so great that Somerset Maugham now has the temerity to write in his short foreword to the catalogue of the present Gauguin exhibition at Wildenstein's (through May 4): "I should not say that Gauguin was a great painter."

Whether Gauguin can be judged fairly on the basis of the fifty-six oils and twenty-odd drawings in this show is doubtful. It seems that art dealers were, until lately at least, able to foist the lesser works of the impressionists and post-impressionists on American collectors with lamentable regularity. It is likely, therefore, that the bulk of Gauguin's best painting remains in Europe. Nevertheless, the consistency with which most of the work of his that I have seen reveals the same weaknesses encourages me to draw conclusions that I do not think future experience will refute.

Like "socialism" in Russia, Gauguin is a case of premature and uneven development. He would, perhaps, have realized himself more fully had he stayed closer to the spirit of impressionism. Renoir, Pissarro, and Monet may have become flaccid at times, but they never suffered from the divided aims that hurt so much of Gauguin's painting. Gauguin's instinct seems to have agreed with the pictorial unity that the impressionists imposed on their open forms by dabs of variegated paint much more than it did with the unity required of a picture composed of flat silhouettes. That he was premature in proposing himself the latter problem appears demonstrated, not only by the fact that the problem had to await the arrival of Matisse for solution, but also by the fact that the best picture at Wildenstein's is the earliest one shown—a small impressionistic head of a woman painted in 1886 with a nervous, loose touch quite unlike the flat handling that became the foundation of Gauguin's later style.

In his other canvases, save for a self-portrait executed in 1898, Gauguin either too drastically simplifies the large, central masses or complicates excessively the distribution of the smaller, subsidiary spots of color. Frequently he commits both errors in the same picture. Hence they tend to be noisy; the brilliant hues and the spectacular contours strike us at their own will, so to speak, without coherence or dramatic unity. And frankly, Gauguin does not draw well enough. In adjusting a contour to the "negative" space between it and the next contour or the edge of the canvas, he seems to rely upon automatic stylization rather than upon intuition.

The "mystical literature" that Pissarro accused Gauguin of trying to inject into modern art and the romanticism of the primitive and the exotic that subsequently replaced it are the sources of this stylization, which is the encompassing fault of Gauguin's later painting—and the inevitable expression of his failure to let himself comprehend the world he lived in. For he did not understand that his dissatisfaction with Europe could not be relieved by transporting himself elsewhere in space and culture, that he remained in the nineteenth century wherever he went. Instead of criticizing and revealing the world of which he was an ineluctable part, as the impressionists and Cézanne and even Van Gogh did—with a pertinence, an insight, and a "healthy" materialism possible only because largely unconscious—Gauguin tried to find an immediate alternative. He was misled, as many a later artist has been, into thinking that certain resemblances between his own and primitive art meant an affinity of intention and consciousness. Renouncing the beneficent criticism that he could get only from the milieu that had formed him as an artist, he engaged himself in a forced and feverish effort to realize that insubstantial affinity. The result is something partly artificial, something that lacks reality, however much of genius it shows.

Surrealist influence has within the last few years loosened the painter Arshile Gorky's attachment to Picasso and convinced him that charm is not always reprehensible. There was a time when it seemed that he would succumb completely to the surrealist version of charm, and I expressed this fear in a review I wrote a year ago. However, Gorky's present show of eleven oils at Julien Levy's (through May 4) provides not only reassurance but also some of the best modern painting ever turned out by an American.

In lowering his aim and surrendering his ambition to create an art of historical dimensions, Gorky has finally succeeded in discovering himself for what he is—not an artist of epochal stature, no epic poet, but a lyrical, personal painter with an elegant, felicitous, and genuine delivery. What he lacks in invention and boldness he makes up for by a true sophistication that transcends the merely charming and exploits to the maximum the painterly instinct, the ability to think and feel paint that is Gorky's greatest asset. He has now produced four or five paintings in which the influences are completely digested and which add something no one else could have said to that which Picasso and Miró have already said.

Gorky has taken his point of departure from the most interesting canvas of his last year's show, the large white "Island," continuing to paint thin—he abandoned his customary heavy, flat impasto some years ago—and to rely on the draftsmanship that has become his most powerful and original instrument. The majority of the pictures on view are essentially tinted drawings—which does not make them any the less important. Thin black lines, tracing what seem to be hidden landscapes and figures, wind and dip against transparent washes of primary color that declare the flatness of the canvas. Several of the paintings are in monochrome or almost so, and these demonstrate best the phenomenal sensitivity and sensuousness of Gorky's calligraphy; but the strongest, except for the white "Delicate Game," are two more chromatic pictures, "Hugging" and "Impatience," whose charm is solid and whose quick spontaneity—which only the superficial eye could mistake for sketchiness—is the result of a great deal of preliminary thought.

Gorky's art does not yet constitute an eruption into the mainstream of con-

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temporary painting, as I think Jackson Pollock's does. On occasion he still relapses into dependence on Miró, though these relapses are no longer frequent or helpless enough to be compromising. Nevertheless, his self-confidence still fails to extend to invention. Yet the chances are, now that he has discovered what he is and is willing to admit it, that Gorky will soon acquire the integral arrogance that his talent entitles him to. When he does acquire that kind of arrogance, it is possible that he will begin to paint pictures so original that they will look ugly at first.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

OUTSTANDING among the rest of Victor's April releases is the record (11-9114; $1) with two Mozart arias—*Ach, ich fühl's* from "The Magic Flute" and *Batti, batti, o bel Masetto* from "Don Giovanni"—beautifully sung by Steber with accompaniments by an orchestra under Leinsdorf. Steber's singing easily holds its own with Lemnitz's in the complete "Magic Flute" and Mildmay's in the complete "Don Giovanni"; what one does not hear is the beautifully integrated and finished performance of singer and orchestra that is achieved by Beecham in the one and Busch in the other. There is, I have come to believe, a special department set up in opera, broadcasting, and record companies to contrive the senseless things they do—such as having *Ach, ich fühl's* sung in English and *Batti, batti* in Italian. If one believes, mistakenly, that *Ach, ich fühl's* should be sung in English in order that its words may be understood, one must believe the same thing of *Batti, batti;* if one believes, correctly, that the sound of the original Italian words should be preserved in *Batti, batti* one must believe the same thing of the German words of *Ach, ich fühl's.* And if I call the belief in opera in English mistaken it is because even at the close range provided by recording the English words are mostly as unintelligible as they are in the opera house, and there is therefore no reason for sacrificing the sound of the original words.

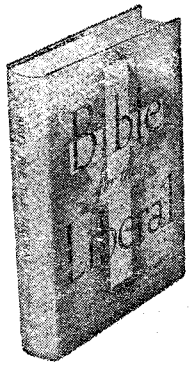
In a volume entitled "Sacred Songs" (Set 1043; $3.85) Dorothy Maynor sings *Hear ye, Israel!* from Mendelssohn's "Elijah," and *How beautiful are the feet* from Handel's "Messiah" (11-9106); *Alleluia* from Mozart's Motet K. 165 "Exsultate," and *Blute nur, du liebes Herz* from Bach's St. Matthew Passion (11-9107); and *Laudamus te* from Bach's B minor Mass, and a chorale from Bach's Cantata "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" in an arrangement by Charles O'Connell for solo voice and orchestra that carries it to an interpolated climax of high notes and sonorous orchestral chords (11-9108). The chorale is sung with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy, and was therefore recorded at least four years ago, and more probably even earlier at the same time as the arias from "Louise" and "L'Enfant prodigue"; the other pieces were recorded recently with an orchestra under Sylvan Levin. In the chorale, then, one hears the voice with the lusciousness that it had and no longer has; in the others one hears it as it is today: hard and dry, so to speak, but with clarity and power that make it a superb dramatic soprano; and one is aware of the technical control of it that makes possible its admirable deployment in long phrases. Two of the performances—the *Hear ye* and *Laudamus te*—stand out above the others; on the other hand the *Alleluia* is hurried, tense, and shrill, and its florid passages are not clear. The various recorded sounds of the performances are further evidence of the lack of standardization in recording practice: the *Laudamus te* sounds too close to the microphone, the *Blute nur* either too far away or recorded at too low a volume-level; the *Alleluia* is loud and brash; the *Hear ye* and the chorale are—though in different ways—excellent. And finally, *Blute nur* and the chorale are sung in mostly unintelligible English—under the titles *Only bleed and break, thou loving heart* and *Now let every tongue adore Thee.*

Some of the music in D'Indy's "Istar" Variations is pleasant to the ear; some of it, including the theme that is revealed at the end, is contortedly arid—the whole work reminding one of Casella's witty title for his musical take-off on D'Indy: "Prelude à l'après-midi d'un ascète." It is well performed by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony, and well-recorded (Set SP-16; $2.25). The worthless paper "album" for which Victor charges the extra quarter contains a variation-by-variation description of the work which merely translates the Babylonian poem about Istar from Apthorp's English into record-album gush that will not help anyone to discover what variation he is listening to when, and that doesn't even tell him on which record-sides the variations occur.

Harold Bauer's performances of Liszt's "Waldesrauschen" and Etude in D flat are competent; their sound on the record is dull and weak in treble (11-9113; $1). Albanese's singing of *O mio babbino caro* from Puccini's "Gianni Schicchi" and *Vissi d'arte* from his "Tosca" is lovely in sound but full of the mannerisms of Italian sopranos singing this tripe (11-9115; $1).

I heard De Luca a great deal in his first years at the Metropolitan, and again in 1934-5, if I remember correctly; and I retain sharp recollections of his beautiful voice and of his art in its production and manipulation. That art was again in evidence, at his recent New York recital, in his employment of the voice it had helped to preserve: it produced astonishingly spun-out sequences not only of tones in the lower range that

A Bible for the Liberal



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still retained some of their beauty, but of high tones that were dry and perilously thin. It was a vocal art that he exhibited in his singing, rather than a musical one—an art in singing, not in musical phrasing; an art which occasionally as it spun out a legato sequence produced a beautiful musical phrase, but occasionally pulled the phrase out of shape. And the phrases of the aria *Aprite un po' quegli occhi* from the last act of "The Marriage of Figaro" were made hash of by an experienced singing actor's art in pointing them up for laughs.

This provides an occasion to speak of Caruso, who is rightly thought of as a great artist, but whose art also was a vocal, not a musical one. When Caruso was, as he put it, "emotionated" his emotion did not express itself in inflection of the musical phrase that employed his voice, but in manipulation of his voice that sometimes produced a beautiful legato phrase and sometimes tore the phrase to pieces. The flow of lovely sound in the first phrases of *O Paradiso!* is musical perfection; its climactic B flat which Caruso holds and expands from *pp* to the splendor of *ff* is a breathtaking bit of vocal manipulation—but it causes him to break the phrase; whereas Björling, who is a superb musical as well as vocal artist, makes the B flat part of a continuous phrase-line. So with *Parmi veder le lagrime:* Jan Peerce's recent record caused me to listen to Caruso's, which shocked me with the way his exuberance in his vocal style distorts phrases and robs them of the musical sense and power they have as Peerce sings them. And so with the *Una furtiva lagrima* on the reverse side of Caruso's *Parmi veder* record: even the vocal splendors that produce its musical excesses lose their impressiveness when I listen to the flawless vocal art in the service of beautiful musical art in the performance by John McCormack.

Caruso, of course, had no patience with such distinctions. Of one of the reviews of a Montreal concert—"not so nice like everyone else"—he wrote his wife: "Immagine, this said that I, as a concert singer, am lower of Gogorza and Julia Culp! Bravo the idiot!"

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FOR KEEPS

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Frontal Attack in Canada

Dear Sirs: As a reader of *The Nation* for many years, I was somewhat taken aback by the cursory manner in which you referred to a matter which in the opinion of many Canadians is a most serious frontal attack on the ancient and fundamental right of habeas corpus.

Introduced clandestinely in October, 1945, without the knowledge or consent of Parliament, the order-in-council was roundly denounced by Canada's parties, Conservative to CCF. The result has been that the government has bowed to public opinion and revoked the order. But—and this is the rub—the damage caused by the reintroduction in peace time of arbitrary detention has set a precedent which can only give comfort to and encourage reaction everywhere.

It goes without saying that no case can be made for those who may be found guilty of betraying their country. In fact, the entire business of espionage and counter-espionage is, at best, a sad commentary on the present state of international political morality. What is of interest to libertarians is the extent to which habeas corpus has become the object of concerted attack because of its alleged inadequacy in time of war, of imminent war, and now after the war.

It is, I submit, of vital concern to your readers when such a fundamental prerogative is attacked in any country which has as its basic law the common law of England. Arrest without court warrant, holding the accused incomunicado and without benefit of counsel, trial in secret without the right of cross-examination—these are not the ordinary procedures of the common-law tradition. The Official Secrets Act and the Canadian criminal code offer manifold opportunity of prosecution; yet bureaucrats tend to adopt the easier but dangerous path of suspension of the common-law writs by orders-in-council and the same inquisitorial systems of authoritarian law which we condemn.

Condonation by silence can only result in the reintroduction of these practices by willing students in reactionary climes. Already the Quebec government has decided to reintroduce the infamous Padlock law, and no doubt others in your country will take keen note of the methods adopted and explanations invoked to circumscribe the great fundamental rights enunciated by the common law and accepted as a basis of our political democracy. The revocation of the order-in-council demonstrates the salutary force of Canadian public opinion when aroused. N. T. NEMETZ

Vancouver, B. C., April 12

[Mr. Nemetz's point is well taken, and is discussed at some length in B. K. Sandwell's article on page 536.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Arab Collaboration

Dear Sirs: In answer to a letter published in the April 6 issue of *The Nation* from Khalil Totah, executive director of the Institute of Arab American Affairs, I should like to point out that Mr. Totah, in acknowledging that "some Arab leaders accepted German assistance in their mortal struggle with Zionism," adopts a new line. Until now Arab official sources, in spite of overwhelming proof to the contrary, have denied the hard fact of Arab collaboration with the Axis.

In his effort to justify Arab collaboration with the Nazis Mr. Totah draws a comparison between the nefarious activities of the Mufti and his associates and the alignment of Jefferson and Franklin with the Bourbons. Mr. Totah, however, neglects one rather essential point in making the analogy: namely, that while Jefferson and Franklin were inspired by the highest humanitarian motives in their struggle for liberty, the Mufti, Jamal Husseini, and the other Arab collaborators voluntarily identified themselves with the establishment of a regime of tyranny and slavery.

Mr. Totah goes on to challenge my reference to the Arab masses, "to whom slogans of Nazi philosophy made an infinitely stronger appeal than the British policy of appeasement," by stating that "the Arabs on the contrary are extremely democratic." How extreme the democracy of the Arabs is may be inferred from an article printed in the most prominent and widely circulated Arab newspaper published in Palestine. In describing the Nürnberg trials the article says: "Nazism is after all a principle of life, like socialism and democracy. Trying their [the Nazis'] men is really a trial of the principles of free thinking. If we take the Laval and

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Pétain trials as an example of legal justice we will find it is nothing but a screen for the spirit of vengeance and spite which the present political bodies in Europe harbor for the previous leaders of Europe. It looks as though the revengeful spirit which characterized the Pétain and Laval trials is going to characterize the trials of Hess, Göring, and the rest of the army generals who had to fulfil their military duty in the war as soldiers defending their most sacred possession — their homeland" (*Falastin*, November 2, 1945).

While reading Mr. Totah's letter one wonders not only at the astonishing arguments of the author but at the fact that the Mufti, Jamal Husseini, and their colleagues are enjoying freedom and are steadily being restored to their former positions in Arab public life in Palestine and elsewhere. In Great Britain, France, Holland, and Norway short shrift has been made of those who, in whatever measure, gave help or comfort to the Nazis. Yet not the slightest compunction was felt about receiving evidence before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry from those who for three long years let loose on Pales-

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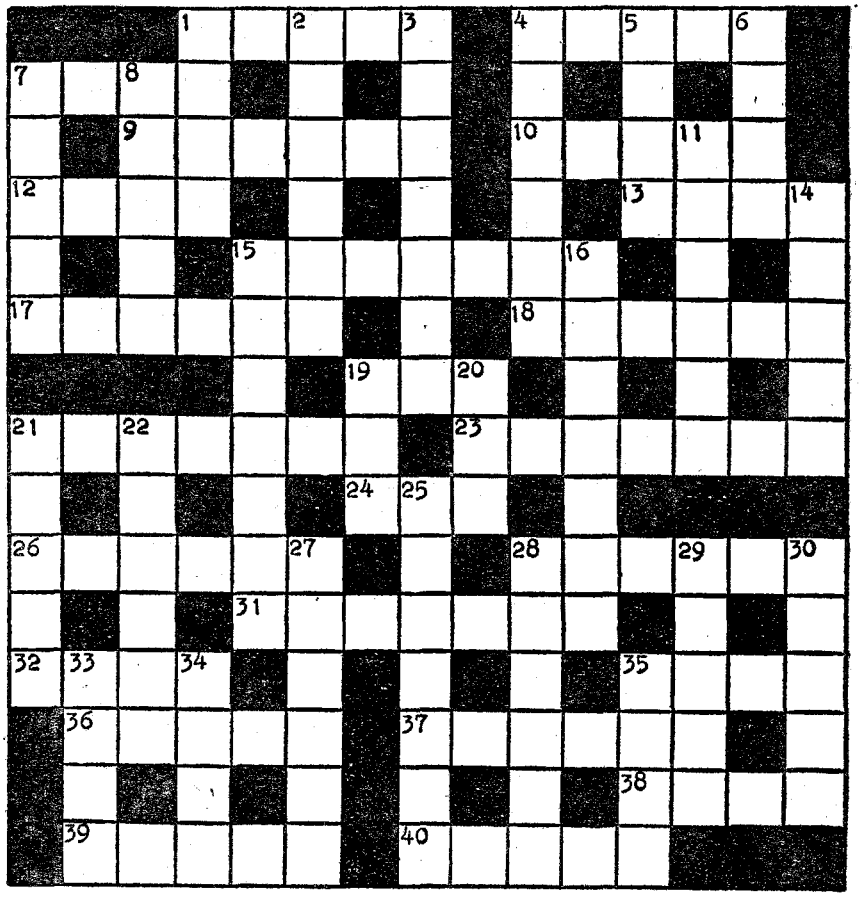
Crossword Puzzle No. 159

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Such power sustains life, and such injury ends it
4 Solid squares
7 Oh, Mona ----
9 Customers for back collar studs
10 Not a Highland dance, but one in the vales
12 He is here today and here tomorrow
13 Aladdin managed to rub along with one
15 They know that a stitch in time saves nine
17 Village immortalized by Goldsmith (probably Lissoy, in Ireland)
18 Not included in Sir Joseph Porter's retinue of relatives
19 A free pass to the next round
21 Many thanks
23 Not the voice of the turtle-dove
24 Comes in powder or shell
26 Unrelated
28 To stretch this will not make it any less short
31 Glorified stoats
32 Unusual sound in Kilkenny
35 The "arm" of the law
36 Palms yield something to make a song of
37 Ducked
38 Result of some canvassing
39 One over the eights
40 Not a suitable name for a white-headed boy

DOWN

1 A depressed area?
2 Comes to a head in the East
3 Allegiance
4 Carven in rock
5 He gives an account of himself
6 Sharp end of the ship
7 N. African battleground of 1943
8 Curbs (anag.)
11 Don Quixote's squire, surnamed Panza
14 Very deaf, but the means of our hearing from others
15 Never comes like this, they say
16 Serpentine
19 A social worker
20 "--- and points to yonder glade" (hidden)
21 Fat needed for plum pie
22 Amphibious operations are nothing new to them
25 Medieval trade union subscription?
27 Shakespeare wrote thirty-four in all
28 A buffer can take it
29 She is just married, or just about to be
30 A mechanical genius
33 Two prepositions in a third one
34 Came down in slanting lines, in the poem
35 Suffers

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 158

ACROSS:—1 PALAVER; 5 COWHAND; 9 JAVELIN; 10 NOTICES; 11 MORON; 12 GUINEVERE; 14 LION; 15 SOFTIES; 18 MRS; 20 TOE; 21 ARCHERS; 23 SURE; 26 ANTITOXIN; 28 WAVER; 29 RELIEVE; 30 BRAILLE; 31 PASTERN; 32 RISINGS.

DOWN:—1 PAJAMA; 2 LOVERS; 3 VALENTINE; 4 RONTGEN; 5 CANDIES; 6 WITHE; 7 ACCREDIT; 8 DISPENSE; 13 ERR; 16 FORSWEARS; 17 EON; 18 MALAPROP; 19 SCUTTLES; 22 SIXTEEN; 23 SAND BUR; 24 AVALON; 25 GREEKS; 27 THERE.

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tine murder upon murder, who at the most critical stage of the war joined the enemies of the Allies in stirring up revolts, and who after the failure of Rashid Ali's revolt in Iraq proceeded directly to the enemies' capitals.

Whether or not Mr. Totah has "to thank the British and the Zionists" for the Mufti's association with the Nazis is irrelevant. No allowances were made for motivations in the parallel cases of Quisling and Laval. One may therefore say that the courts have already given their answer to this last argument of Mr. Totah. ELIAHU EPSTEIN

Washington, D. C., April 11

The Lilienthal Report

Dear Sirs: Mr. Stone's comments on the Lilienthal report lead me to believe that he is a man with his head in the clouds and his feet firmly planted on thin air. He has twice opposed in your columns the provision in the Lilienthal report which deals with America's disposition of its atomic secrets. I should like to make two points in reply.

1. The four steps recommended by the report for the release of American atomic secrets are based on the necessity, at the time, of these secrets to the international control board. Their release is so designed that, should the work of this board be interrupted, the nations of the world would be in the same relative position as regards atomic power as they are now. Foreign nations may object to this provision, but I am sure that their desire for some control of atomic energy (and the Lilienthal report provides for something better than the term "any control" would connote) will override antipathy to a proposal which maintains the present international atomic-power balance for the next ten years.

2. Does Mr. Stone believe it possible that an American Congress which approves of the May-Johnson bill and the Vandenberg amendment to the McMahon bill and which revises its opinion on these measures only in the face of public wrath in an election year will indorse a measure providing for immediate publication of our atomic secrets? In this complex world our little men in Congress are too concerned with "security" to approve any such measure. The Lilienthal report, as it stands, will not have too much difficulty obtaining Congressional indorsement. With the revisions Mr. Stone has in mind, an essentially progressive measure will be blocked. HOWARD B. LORD

Chevy Chase, Md., April 15

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